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PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE

THOMAS RAIKES

WITH

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON

AND

OTHER DISTINGUISHED CONTEMPORARIES.

EDITED BY HIS DAUGHTER

HARRIET RAIKES.

20078

LONDON:
RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET,
Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty.

1861.

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TO

H. I. M. NAPOLEON III.

These Memoirs

ARE, BY PERMISSION,

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED.

INTRODUCTION.

THE publication of this Correspondence, completing Mr. Raikes's Diary given to the public in the years 1856 and 1857, was intended to follow immediately upon the appearance of that work. It has been delayed by unavoidable circumstances to the present time.

The preface to the Diary may be supposed to preclude any necessity for a Biographical Notice. Writers of letters and of journals are in fact their own reporters. And when they have survived the panic which assails the first production of a work of social reminiscences, prejudging it as the "*Mene Tekel*" of the times that it records, the biographer comes to take his footing with posterity, according to the influence that in life may have been allotted to his moral and intellectual perceptions, among the members of the society of his day.

What may, in the present instance, and by the present generation of readers, be less easily defined, is, perhaps, the speciality of that society upon which the Author of the Journal has drawn

for many early recollections. This subject might have claimed a few words from the hand which wrote the former Preface, as from one of the few surviving members of a set, whose tone and aspect have been since entirely effaced in the rapidity of industrial progress, and the increasing necessity and enormous power of money in the social scale: yet the Preface merely states that "the entries in the Journal will show in what sort of society Mr. Raikes's life was passed, termed," it observes, "by a somewhat questionable courtesy—the best;" and adds, "the year 1846, that of Mr. Raikes's return to England, found all his early friends and associates dead or dispersed."

Long ere that day the "questionable" clique, once the leaders of the London world, had broken up; and their bond of union and sway over society have remained the more intangible to the public, since they ruled neither through the power of great rank or wealth; nor did either in itself ever suffice as brevet to the freemasonry of the then-termed *Dandies*.

Theirs was a fraternity founded upon the *Science* of Civilised Existence, not altogether conditional upon rank; since station need not imply *powers* of observation and comparison, even did it always furnish that early and familiar acquaintance with foreign courts and

countries, and modern languages, that form a scope for the free exercise of those faculties; and still less accessible to mere wealth, since less universally does fortune suppose surrounding influences of refinement, which, if these are indeed essential to the forming of the social judgments and appreciations of after-life, must have been breathed with its first instincts in their origin.

Out of such elements the *Dandies*, with criticising art, worked the indigenous material of English High Life into a coterie which combined, at least, the pleasures of intelligence with those of dissipation. With them Society was not understood to be, as now, a coalition of interests where both sides are on the defensive, and where the day has no recreation without a view to the ambition or the popularity of the morrow,—sufficient for their day was its own excitement of festivity and wit.

Speaking, as here, from tradition, there is no more to say.

The manners of the *Dandies* were in themselves a charm, retained by some through infirmity and age. Their speech was pleasant, their language thorough-bred, their raillery conciliating, their satire—what they intended it to be; many among them highly gifted—doing all that they did well; the less apt, always to the point,

letting it alone; without enthusiasm, without illusions—a school of gentlemen, liberal and open-handed; ephemeral as youth and spirits, yet marked by this endearing quality, that they remained (with few exceptions) true and loyal friends, tested through years of later adversity, and even Death's oblivion.

The scattered letters here ventured to be inserted, from among a few others of the earlier or social Correspondence of the Author of the Journal, and apparently preserved by chance, may render this Introduction not inappropriate. They have the interest of photographs, although, as Correspondence, they are but fragments.

The men of that *clique* had an equal facility and predilection for letter-writing; and when some of them took to travel, and others to the discussion of politics, as the resource of their graver years, they constantly communicated their impressions and observations, as these few illustrations serve to manifest. It was in this way that the Correspondence of the Author of the Journal with the late Duke of Wellington was prolonged and amplified, until it attained the proportions of a book: in that form it will now take its chance with the public and with posterity.

April 12, 1861.

CORRESPONDENCE OF MR. RAIKES.

St. Petersburgh,
December 4th, 1812. Night.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

Before my eyes are quite closed, I will endeavour to throw a few hieroglyphics upon this sheet of paper, by which you may learn that we are still in the midst of rejoicings, chaunting Te Deums, and offering up prayers for the never-ceasing successes which Providence has been pleased to vouchsafe to the Russian arms.

Lord Cathcart is despatching a courier at this moment with more good news, more defeats and overthrows; and, although after the battle of Borodino you were not willing to give Russians the credit of a victory, yet I trust the consequences have proved that it was one. We are summoned again to-morrow morning to Te Deum. Tschichagoff has driven the French out of Wilna with great slaughter. They left all their baggage, ammunition, and stores behind them; in short, they did not even save themselves, for

many of them were left behind, never to march again. The accounts which we have of the French army are truly melancholy; they are so pressed on all sides by the Cossacks, that they now march by night, and halt all day in a hollow square. When the Russian army reaches the ground last abandoned by the French, they find, in general, many of them, unhappy wretches! frozen to death, in the very position of sitting round their fires warming themselves. Some had fallen into the fire, and their heads were burnt to cinders, not having had physical strength sufficient to recover their perpendicular after once losing their balance. The roads are strewed with their bodies, and every village is filled with them.

The report of this week, for which we are going to church to-morrow, gives a sum total of the losses of the French army, within the last eight days, in killed, wounded, surrendered, starved, and frozen at Wilna and elsewhere, and it amounts to nothing short of 30,000 men, artillery, colours, &c. Bonaparte is not supposed to have with him at this moment of the army which marched to Moscow more than from 16,000 to 18,000 men. Amongst the generals who are taken, is Le Febvre, supposed to be the very officer who lately escaped from England.

Macdonald, my cousin, is measuring his steps

back through Courland with all convenient speed, but I think he will hardly walk quick enough. Wittgenstein will have the foot of him, and will, no doubt, give a good account of him. How sincerely do I wish that the accounts from Spain were as prosperous! The raising the siege of Burgos, together with the concomitant misfortunes, have thrown a little gloom over that quarter; and every one here looks with great anxiety for the next report from Lord Wellington, which is "big with event." God send him a good delivery!

Mr. Glen sent me your letter under cover to him this day; it is dated the 5th of November, and has been long by the way; it was, however, a great treat, so full of news and interesting matters. Fancy the Chin in Parliament! I am only afraid the *Chin* will become a jaw and will speak. If sugars should be the subject, I shall be most happy if he would give them a sweet discourse. Pray congratulate Sir Frog* for me upon his accession to his dignities and fortune: I really am happy at his success, and wish he may live to enjoy them. Dawson is still with the army and not frozen yet—he never writes to any one. Forbes is with us as happy as can be, visiting everywhere, and now and then getting a dance. Petersburgh at this moment is not very

* Sir George Talbot.

gay; and there is a great sameness in their assemblies, which is tiresome; in addition to which, the weather is most intolerably cold, and I have been three weeks confined to my room and bed with a quinsy in the throat—the want of proper clothing must have been the cause of it, while driving about in my sledge. You must be pretty nearly tired of me; therefore I shall take my leave of you, wishing you a merry Christmas, and all the compliments of the season; and believe me to remain,

My dear Raikes,

Very sincerely yours,

ARCHD. MACDONALD.

St. Petersburgh, December $\frac{1}{13}$, 1812.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

I little thought when I last wrote to you that I should so soon have to change the tenor of my correspondence from excessive joy to the deepest sorrow. We are all in this house absorbed in the most profound melancholy. Poor Tyrconnel is dead! and a better heart, or a better man, never lived. He was an universal favourite, and supported but one character through life,—that of an open, honest, generous-hearted man. In England he cannot be more regretted than in Russia. He carries to the grave with him the

esteem and affection of thousands, and leaves not an enemy behind. Under such circumstances death might be reconcileable. It would appear that for a long time past he had complained of a cold and a cough, but did not think more of it than people generally do who are not particularly inconvenienced. Marching as he did through the interior of Russia, under pinching frost of from fifteen to twenty-five degrees, frequently lying out whole nights in the snow, it was not surprising that the climate of this country should at length fasten itself upon the slight foundation already laid in his constitution. He had borne the fatigues of the campaign hitherto with uncommon hardiness, and I never met with an officer from the army who did not speak of Tyconnel with wonder and admiration. Starved or feasted, hot or cold, he was always contented and in high spirits. It was not until a very few days before his death that he began to give a serious thought to his complaint. He even to the last spoke of the pleasure he should have in returning to Old England and recounting his campaign. After leaving Smolensk, he walked much on foot, frequently fatiguing himself: the weather was particularly cold, and he never, until he reached Wilna, had the good fortune to be lodged in a tolerable quarter. There, however, he met with every attention and comfort,

considering the great confusion which existed in that city at the moment. They contrived to lodge him in the house of an English professor attached to the university there; who, with his wife, never ceased to administer most tenderly to all his wants. Dr. Wigly, the Emperor's first physician, as well as Admiral Tschitchagoff's physician, were both in constant attendance, using every effort within the sphere of their professional science and experience. On the morning of his death he felt himself much worse, and called to his servant to come and adjust him in his bed, who only arrived in time to receive him in his arms, when he expired without a groan. Inflammation on the chest was the immediate cause of his death; and I am inclined to think, by his florid complexion and other appearances, that his complaint was of much longer standing than people imagine. Nobody more sincerely regrets than I do the premature death of so excellent and warm-hearted a friend. I trust he has found a better world. It must be no small consolation to his family to know that he was so well attended to in his last moments, and sorrowed for by many anxious and sincerely interested friends.

My head is so confounded with the shock of this melancholy event, that I scarcely know what goes on in the busy world. The Emperor has been gone some time to Wilna, which

occasions no little speculation here; but I fancy it is only from a wish to see his army, and to thank them for past services, and perhaps to confer a few ribbons here and there. He will be, at the same time, more handy there for communication or negotiation, should it be necessary. The bulletin published this day places the advanced guard of the Russian army at Grodno, Tilsit, &c.; if they advance at this rate, I am not sure but I may finish my winter at Vienna. Fighting is all over. The French, as soon as the Russians come up with them, surrender, because they are famished.

What an extraordinary campaign this has been! and how the enslaved world must rejoice! I suppose London has been one continued illumination: candles only snuffed, and fresh oil occasionally poured in. The *Journal du Nord*, a weekly Government Petersburgh paper, which gives the official details of the war, I have filed regularly, with a view to sending them; they go by this courier, addressed to my wife, and perhaps you may find them amusing, if you have not already seen them. A letter from England is so great a treat, that I hope you will frequently indulge me with one. Yours never fail to contain a budget. We are all in Court mourning this day for the young Prince of Oldenburgh, arried to them Emperor's sister,

who died a few days ago. Our Consul-General here, Mr. Baillie, has this moment sent me a translation of Kutousoff's last report from Wilna; from the Emperor's absence it had not been sooner opened. It is very long, and I have only time and space to extract a few of the figures, to give you some idea of the booty taken on that occasion. 14,000 chetverts of rye, 5,000 ditto of biscuits, and a very considerable quantity of uniforms, great coats, pontoons, entrenching tools, &c.; sabres, helmets, saddles, &c.; seven generals, viz., Vivié, Gousset, D'Armand, Le Fevre, Fayontchell, mostly staff officers; 224 other officers; 9,567 rank and file; and 5,139 sick, besides great numbers taken in neighbouring towns. It gives also the reports of other general officers and their successes. Lord Cathcart will no doubt forward all particulars. My hands are bitterly tired with writing to-day. Wishing you a merry Christmas and a happy new year,

Believe me to remain,

Very sincerely yours,

ARCH. MACDONALD.

22nd January, 1813.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your very kind attention came at a time when such are most sincerely felt, and, believe me, has been duly appreciated by my excellent mother and myself. My dearest brother had many true friends who I know lament his loss with the utmost sincerity; you, my dear Sir, were ranked among that number; and if I might succeed to that friendship (which he received from all those who, like yourself, knew him well), and you would permit me to call you by that name, it would be one great cause of comfort to me. Hoping this, let me say that I am,

My dear Friend,

Yours most sincerely,

TYRCONNEL.

Lines written in Mr. Raikes's Album on the Grave of the late EARL OF TYRCONNEL, 1814.

No pompous epitaph is blazoned here,
No hireling verse profanes the Warrior's bier;
The tear that glistens in a comrade's eye,
The simple tribute of the soldier's sigh,
Deck, brave Tyrconnel, thy lamented shrine,
With far more glory than the studied line;
Which—cold, protracted by the rules of Art—
Speaks to the ear—but fails to reach the heart.

Calais, April 27th, 1817.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

Your explanation has turned my spleen into remorse; and, as the most brief and satisfactory expiation of my momentary injustice, I beg your pardon.

You will, however, admit there was some plausible foundation for a little captiousness, when I tell you, that six weeks since I wrote four sides of my best brains to you, and delegated the conveyance of the letter to John Walpole, otherwise Colonel Walpole of the Guards, who was passing through this place on his return to England. His remissness has been sadly culpable, inasmuch as it has been the cause of my exposing myself to the scrape of directing my reproaches where I find they have been the least deserved. I know not where he lives in town, therefore I cannot write to him upon the subject; but, as half the sunshine of his day is generally passed in St. James's Street, you will most probably see him, and I shall be much obliged to you to demand of him why he has never delivered the letter to you. I am most anxious to ascertain its fate: if he had destroyed or lost it, all well and good, I can only blame his negligence; but his concealing it from you cannot be considered as equally venial.

Berkeley Craven, in passing through this place, has just told me that it is your intention to go to Paris before next month. I will therefore take the liberty to request, if such is your determination, that you will order your *Frontin* to put up an extra 2 lbs. of the *Façon de Paris* you had the kindness to leave with me on your last return to England. It was the best snuff with which my nose was ever nourished; and my brain has been in a state of inánity ever since it was exhausted. I have not either a pinch of any decent tobacco remaining to befriend my sluggish evenings. Do this for me, and accept an infinity of thanks.

Point de nouvelles ici. Je vis à l'ordinaire dans une grande retraite. Je partage mon temps entre la lecture, la peinture, et la promenade, et j'eprouve que le charme consolateur de l'etude et des beaux arts peut, sinon guérir les blessures du passé, du moins en adoucir l'amertume. Se livrer à des occupations continuelles, c'est lutter avec courage contre la douleur et l'ennui; et qui les combat avec persévérance finit par en triompher.

Adieu, mon Brave,

Toujours à toi,

G. BRUMMELL.

Calais, October 31st, 1817.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

As my personal communication at this place is confined to M. Quillac, his waiter, to a domestique upon trial (who I firmly believe to be le Duc de Castries in disguise), and to an old abbé, who daily instructs me in the French dialect, at three francs an hour, you must allow me, with all that kindness you have of late so ostensibly shown me, to talk to you a little in correspondence. I was persuaded you had no hand in the mutilation of the muslin that was sent to me. No, I said, he never in cold blood could have been guilty of this outrage. The fault then rests with that Vandal Chapman,* who, in the attempt to exculpate himself, has added a lie to the previous offence; for, according to all the rules of geometry, two triangles will form a square, to the end of the world; and of equal triangular proportions are the kerchiefs in question.

The intention you profess of sending me some square pieces, assures me you are in such good humour, that I shall ask you to add to my obligations by letting me have them immediately, with the snuff, and do not wait for Alvanley's packet (books of which he advised me, and which I have been all impatience to receive); but the circum-

* Mr. Raikes's valet.

stance has perhaps already escaped his memory; and, while he is in a state of suspense about his own personal concerns, I cannot in reason expect he should think of such trifles. Have you received my last letter? I write you as much extempore nonsense as my head and circumstances can furnish. It is better than boring you with more serious themes. However consonant they may be to my present thoughts, I am sure you must prefer even the semblance of my being in more cheerful mood, than when we last shook hands.

If you should have a rainy morning, and ten minutes' leisure, do not, I beseech you, forget such an exiled, disconsolate devil as

Yours most truly

G. BRUMMELL.

Horse Guards, 6th November, 1817.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

The Princess Charlotte's death * has caused a general gloom throughout the country. The particulars of this truly melancholy event will be made known to you through the papers with all the accuracy of official report.

* The Princess Charlotte was married to Prince Leopold May 2, 1816, and died, after giving birth to a still-born child, November 6, 1817, aged 22.

There are some few circumstances attending the death of this interesting woman that may not find their way abroad; for example, the courage with which she suffered, and the resignation she displayed in death.

The faculty of mind never abandoned her; she asked, about an hour previous to death, whether there was any danger? the difficulty of breathing from about that time prevented her speaking much. When Baillie and Croft administered brandy, hot wine, sal volatile, &c. she said, "You make me drunk. Pray leave me quiet; I find it affects my head;" and, shortly after this, raising herself in the bed, she heaved a deep sigh, fell back, and expired.

The act of dying was not painful. There certainly must have been spasm, but I have not heard that it was at the heart. Neither do I believe the family conceived she was in danger, even an hour before she died. It is a blow which the nation really appears to feel acutely, as much as it is possible to suppose the fate of any not materially connected with one, could be felt.

The Regent is terribly shook by this blow—so unexpected, that he was completely overset when he was told of it.

He had left Sudbourn upon hearing of the protracted labour, but was in London informed

that the child was dead, and she remarkably well!

I know nothing of the intention respecting the burial: it will probably be at Windsor, and private as that of the Princess last dead.

Can you bring me some Houbigant gloves over? How is the Beau?

I am told by Alvanley that his uncle is dying of apoplexy. Drummond Burrell has turned away his cook; but Alvanley has begged he will keep the cook disengaged a month, that he may have him, if the event should occur. As you come home, pray bring my pistols, which are in the care of Quillac, at Calais; I gave them myself to the bureau keeper.

Yours ever,

HENRY F. COOKE.

Milan, October 11th, 1818.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

If anything could add to my regret at our separation, it would be your having turned on the very border of Paradise; as from Lausanne here, with the exception of four or five posts in the Valais, the country can only be described by the pen of a Milton or a Byron. I shall confine my flight to a description of the inhabitants, at the same time advising you to pass as much of

your life as possible in this country, *pour vous faire un peu au Paradis.* We have found it quite impossible to quit Milan as yet, except for a few days *de tems en tems* to the Lake of Como, where we have taken a villa. Next week we propose going to Venice, as I should be ashamed of returning to Bulldom without having seen the North of Italy. The South, viz. Florence, &c. I must reserve for another expedition. The society here is charming, and the natives particularly kind and hospitable. Kinnaird is established here for a year at least, and we have no other Bulls but the birds of passage; they are going to the South like quails. The Sidney Smiths, Morleys, Caledons, Lord Dartmouth, Ebrington's brother, and an infinity of *frétin*, have all moved on towards Florence, which seems *quartier general* for the winter. Esterhazy *père* is gone there also, on a reduced establishment of forty horses and fourteen carriages; Paul is here on his way to pay a paternal visit, and to request him to book up some 100,000*l.* for his expenses to England. Madame desires me to say *mille belles choses de sa part.*

Yours most truly,

DRUMMOND BURRELL.

* The Honourable Drummond Burrell, present Lord Willoughby d'Eresby.

Milan, December 30th, 1818.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

Your entertaining letter recalled Bulldom for the first time to my recollection, and gives me an opportunity of again expressing my regret at your not having yet seen this country, which, believe me, is the only *séjour digne d'un philosophe qui aime le plaisir:* it affords all the resources of other countries, and a gaiety and luxuriance peculiar to itself. But, in spite of the fine climate, winter is not the season for a traveller to pass in Italy; the houses are dreadfully cold, and it is extremely difficult to get a good lodging; mine is perfect in point of rooms; but I never see the sun. Horses are indispensable, as all the ladies ride, and most of them particularly well—they are to perform a quadrille *au manège:* I have not been at the *répétition*, but they say it is beautiful.

Count Palfy is here with eight English horses; he is just returned from a visit to his brother at Vienna, from whom he inherits a very large fortune, of which he is in the greatest want. The Grand Duke Michael arrived here last night; he is travelling with a *voiturier* and four tutors, despising the fine arts, and devoting three months only to the whole of this fine country; they seem inclined to make a greater display for him

than for the Duke of Gloucester. The theatre is to be illuminated, and a ball at the governor's on Saturday. We have had several lately, and I must say in the French country-dances the Italians surpass the English in *gaucherie;* the music is of the last century, but the waltzes very good, which are the only dances gentlemen should ever indulge in. The Milanese do not pass for the most hospitable people in the world, and are supposed particularly to dislike foreigners, and *de plus forte raison* the English, who in general are not presentable, one must be just, but I have managed to thrust my snout everywhere. I assure you they live very well, and I only regret my Bull prejudices prevent my passing some time longer with them.

The Scala opened for the Carnival with the "Silo" of Mozart. Camporese and Fisher distinguished themselves, but Crevelli failed completely; the music is out of fashion; nothing is worth listening to but Rossini. There is another opera at the Teatro Rè, to which nobody goes. The ballet is very splendid, and in point of scenery surpasses anything I ever saw; the principal dancers are bad, the Conty is *faite à peindre*, and the *jeunes demoiselles* of the academies would alone occupy all your attention. Tell Mr. Cotton the Signora Ambrogia is in the greatest beauty; *elle n'a pas l'air de pleurer son*

absence, and the report here is that the Princess of Wales' servants are gone to England to give evidence in the divorce. The villa on the lake of Como is sold to Messrs. Manellis, the bankers. Fifteen witnesses, they say, are off, amongst the rest a dwarf; he will shew sport, I think; quite the days of Gioconda. I go soon to Venice, of which you shall have an account. The fine arts still flourish here. What a collection of *objets de goût* might be made for a small sum! My only object will be to return as soon as possible; but I hope to see you at Paris in March.

Addio, caro amico,

DRUMMOND BURRELL.

Stable Yard, Saturday Morning,
December 13th, 1819.

DEAR RAIKES,

I will accept your excuses for not coming to Brighton as you had promised, and not dining with me the day before yesterday, on the sole conditions of your indemnifying me for the disappointment when I return to town.

Many thanks for settling my account at Ascot.

Ever yours most sincerely,

FREDERICK.*

My box at Covent Garden Theatre or the other is

* The late Duke of York.

always very much at your service, when not previously engaged, which you can easily ascertain by sending to the Stable Yard of a morning, between eleven and twelve o'clock, for the ticket.

Riddlesworth, October 24th, 1820.

DEAR RAIKES,

My box at Drury Lane will be very much at Lady Sarah Bayly's service any night next week (except Tuesday, when it is engaged) that it may suit her to send for the ticket to my porter in the Stable Yard.

I have had very good sport up the hills with my gun since I left town. As to whist—the vicissitudes of Fortune, as you well know, render it impossible to say what may be the case before the conclusion of my jaunt; as yet, I have done no good. I am sorry to learn that Fortune has lately treated you so scurvily. I will take care to pay George Anson the hundred and eight pounds which I owe you.

Ever yours most sincerely,

FREDERICK.

Therapia, on the Bosphorus,
September 25th, 1826.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

I have unavoidably deferred acknowledging your letter, though I would have wished to take

an earlier opportunity to thank you for your friendly and kind expression on the subject of my marriage.* Our lot is cast for the present in a most perilous part of the world; but my companion has given me no reason as yet to repent of having exposed her patience and courage to so many rude trials.

The suspension of the conferences at Ackermann's will have caused as much speculation in Christendom as the previous *ultimatum*, which the Turks accepted from Russia in the spring. Even here the mercantile world is in an agony of doubt as to the Sultan's decision on the new *ultimatum*, to which a definitive reply must be made by the 7th of next month. I am satisfied in my own mind that the struggle will end in peace; but a mystery will hang about it till the last moment; and decisions which depend altogether on the will of a Turkish sovereign are liable to the most strange and unexpected changes. This is really and truly the substance of all that can be said upon the subject; and the newspapers will not fail to state this and a great deal more. My time has been so much taken up with official duties and official anxieties, that I have had but little leisure for private correspondence. My friends, however, are kind, and contrive to let me know from time to time that they are for the

* The second marriage of the present Lord Stratford de Redcliffe.

most part well and flourishing, which is no easy matter in spite of the general distress. What a distress! What a commercial earthquake! What an agitation of everything most solid it appears to have been! Such calamities, however, rarely last; and our letters from England induce us to hope that confidence and activity are beginning to revive.

Believe me, my dear Raikes,
Very sincerely yours,
S. CANNING.

A la Fahrneren, 23 Octobre, 1818.

MON CHER AMI,

J'ai encore une tâche bien pénible à remplir, en vous exprimant la profonde douleur dont j'ai été affecté à la nouvelle de la mort de vôtre angélique sœur;* admirée et adorée par tous ceux qui ont eu la bonheur de la connoître; et dont le souvenir ne s'effacera jamais dans les cœurs de la société dont elle étoit le premier ornement.

Il faut croire qu'elle étoit trop belle, trop bonne, et trop parfaite pour ce bas monde; et que dans un meilleur séjour elle est plus heureuse, qu'elle n'auroit pu l'être sur cette terre.

Pardonnez, mon cher ami, que je n'ai pu m'empêcher de renouveller un souvenir aussi

* First wife of the Right Honourable Stratford Canning, then minister at Berne.

douloureux. Il m'auroit été impossible de vous écrire sans y toucher.

Vôtre très sincèrement devoué ami,

ALBERT ZEERLEDEN.

Paris, February 13, 1820.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

I have little to offer you in return for your kind letter, except my best thanks for your remembrance of an old friend in defiance of the modern *tactique;* and I know you are so intimately acquainted with all the resources of Paris that it is useless to bore you with a recapitulation. Nothing new has been established, except the *Gymnase*, of which Perlet, of Argyll Room celebrity, is the principal support. He last night gratified the audience by exhibiting Bull, in all his native horrors, culpable neglect of French literature, and inharmonious imitation of Parisian accent. He even reproached us by the production of a large umbrella with the vicissitudes of a climate we certainly did not select for our personal enjoyment.

I can give you no account of what we vulgarly term the fashionable world, as I have neither health nor temper to cultivate the sort of cat-and-dog acquaintance most of my friends keep up; but I hear of endless balls, &c. Alvanley has furnished a small lodging: it may be a

good speculation, if he should remain long at Paris, but I think he will soon tire of living on so very reduced a scale. I am not at all astonished at the dissolution of the triumvirate—I only wonder it lasted so long. You of course will hear of Hervey Aston's death by poison, with many additions. The truth is, I believe, that on one of the Lady H—— declaring herself with child by him, he took poison, and died in consequence at Genoa.

Yours most truly,

GWYDYR.*

Things look ill in the political world; I think they will soon come to blows in the Chambers.

Thomas Raikes, Esq.
Grosvenor Square, London.

1820.

DEAR RAIKES,

When I arrived in town on Saturday evening, I was sorry to find you already departed. Your letter reached me at a considerable distance from London, else I would have answered it immediately. I am going to ask you to undertake a most perilous adventure, one in which I hope you feel with bowels of compassion for my forlorn state. My prayer is, that you will look out,

* Lord Gwydyr, now Lord Willoughby de Eresby.

if possible, for what is called a *valet de chambre cuisinier*, a good *pâtissier*, above all things, and a perfect operator, and not above casting his eye towards the *déjeuner à la fourchette*, or the coffee manufacture, &c. I hate a fine or a difficult gentleman; and I abhor a rogue, more from irritation, even than economy. I care not whether I give him one hundred or two a-year. I am looking out, so do not engage anybody till you have written to me, lest I should have twins. Montrond will speak to Boucher; ask him to do so for me. I hope you feel a little interest in my dinners being good, which diminishes the scruples I should otherwise feel. I write this Sunday night, but you shall have the last news, for which I shall keep this open. Good bye.

Sunday Evening.

The Queen is the only subject of interest, and I believe I can tell you what is determined upon. Lord L. is to get the Preamble voted, and then withdraw the Bill. The Queen will therefore in law be the Queen, and uninjured by the Bill; and the Government will have the sanction of the House of Lords for her general misconduct; and be therefore maintained in the refusal of the Liturgy and other honours; and, moreover, they will keep their places, being pledged to resignation only with the Liturgy.

I am sorry to say the Radicals behave very

ill to the King; at Hammersmith t'other night they got a waggon across the road, and behaved abominably while the escort was employed removing it.

Amusez vous,
and so God bless you,
YARMOUTH.*

London, Tuesday Morning.

Paris, May 8th, 1828.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

I should like to know how often during these last ten days you have accused me of not being a man of my word. Believe me, however, that you should have heard from me sooner, if I could have communicated anything worthy your notice, and that could have assisted you in forming a tolerably just idea of the situation of things here and in the Peninsula. Since my return here, nothing has come to my knowledge to induce me to alter the opinion which I stated to you three weeks ago. I thought then, and I still think, that the French Government will seize the first favourable opportunity to negociate, being aware that the longer the war is protracted the greater the difficulties will be.

Up to the present moment, things have gone on favourably—there has been no check: the

* The Earl of Yarmouth, late Marquis of Hertford.

Spaniards have not displayed that vigour and energy which was expected from them; and it is manifest that they are dreadfully divided amongst themselves. As long as the French continue their present system of flattering the people, and of paying enormously for everything, the Spaniards will remain disunited; but if an opposite system were adopted, they would infallibly unite. Therefore it is to the interest of this Government to bring the war as speedily as possible to a conclusion, since they cannot incur such enormous expenses for any length of time without ruining their finances. Inasmuch as regards the Spanish Government, I apprehend that it will now be more inclined to lend a favourable ear to proposals of accommodation than before the invasion; and perhaps the good offices of our Government will be called for by both parties. The want of soldiers, of arms, stores, and of money, must at length soften the stubbornness of the Constitutional Dons, and a *mezzo termine* will be gladly hailed. The extreme ultras here, and the chiefs of the *bandes de la foi*, are certainly for not listening to any terms of arrangement,—their object is to restore, in all its plenitude, the power of the Clergy and King; but M. de Villele and his colleagues have not yet such extravagant projects, nor do I think they are likely to adopt them under existing circumstances. They have already gained all

that can be gained by the war—at least, in my humble opinion; viz. they have successfully put to the test the fidelity of the troops, and they have proved the error under which many persons laboured, that the Bourbons could not assemble an army without endangering their existence.

Important news is expected from Catalonia. Mina, it is thought, will make a stand: if he should be successful, it must derange the plans of the Duc d'Angoulême, who is on his march to Madrid. Adieu!—Give me some news.

Very truly yours,
in haste,
J. HARCOURT KING.

Paris, December 20th, 1829.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

I wrote you a few lines by the last messenger. The trial of the Ministers is proceeding (hitherto tranquilly), and it is conjectured will not terminate before Thursday, or perhaps Friday. The state of the capital is somewhat alarming; everybody talks of a conspiracy; the public mind is much agitated; and what tends to increase the general apprehension is the openness with which the Ministers themselves talk of the critical situation of things. In so doing they have, perhaps, some object in view, which it is difficult to comprehend, unless it is that they expect thereby

to rally round them all the orderly and well-disposed persons. Things look very queer, certainly, but I believe the danger much exaggerated. In the meantime, measures of precaution have been taken,—the National Guards are all ready to act, and all the authorities are at their posts.

I have been told that there was last night a commencement of insurrection in the Faubourg St. Antoine; and the National Guards were called out, but nothing serious occurred. The *Ecole Polytéchnique* is become very restive. The *Ecoles de Droit et de Medecine* are animated with the worst spirit. A pretty state of things! it is bad enough everywhere. The people have been taught their strength, and it will be no easy matter in future to keep them within bounds. If the Government had acted with promptitude and energy in the beginning whenever these risings occurred, it would have been easy to crush them; but they have allowed them everywhere to proceed so far that it will require much time and bloodshed to overcome them.

The system of non-intervention has been carried too far, and it has been too much the fashion to yield to popular clamour. Mankind has never been governed but by force, and I defy all the existing wiseacres to find out any other means. *Que le diable emporte les Philantropes!*—they will overturn everything with their absurd

theories. Adieu! give me some news: I am very uneasy about our own concerns.

Very truly yours,

J. HARCOURT KING.

Paris, December 24th, 1828 or 29.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

We are now quiet again, *jusqu'à nouvel ordre*. When I wrote last Monday, the agitators were hard at work; but, after three days' perseverance, the admirable behaviour of the National Guard triumphed over every attempt at a Revolution. It was a most serious crisis. It is supposed that some changes will take place in the Ministry very soon. Odillon Barrot is talked of as Ministre de l'Intérieur, in the room of Montalivet, who is to have another destination. Soult is spoken of as future President of the Council. Stability is quite out of the question here. Nothing will last. You are now in my debt, and I expect you to transmit me an account of our concerns. So adieu, in haste.

Yours very truly,

J. HARCOURT KING.

Paris, July 12th, 1830.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

I expect you to write me a long letter in return for my scrawls. Political news is what

you demand, and you shall therefore have as much as I know, *ce qui est très peu de chose.*

The news of the capture of Algiers arrived somewhat unexpectedly, at least ten days earlier than the wise people calculated. It is a very favourable event for the Government, and has certainly given it a great degree of moral strength. The vanity of the nation is greatly flattered by this achievement; many persons' heads are turned; it reminds them of the days of their triumphs, and they dream of future deeds of glory. They are quite proud of the *belle Colonie* on the African shores, and they certainly have a right to glory in it, for in their hands it will become a splendid acquisition. But what will John Bull say when he finds that Algiers and a long extent of country is henceforward to belong to France? In the event of a war (for we cannot always remain at peace), what will become of our trade in the Mediterranean? this French colony being situated midway between Gibraltar and Malta, and within three days' sail of Toulon.

I really do not comprehend the policy of our statesmen. Forbearance and submission have been too long *à l'ordre du jour.* The invasion of Spain was undertaken in direct opposition to our wishes. The Russians attacked and overwhelmed the Turks in spite of us. And now the French, without saying "by your leave,"

take possession of a vast country which gives them the sceptre of the Mediterranean. Next will come the Americans, who have long cast a wistful eye to that quarter, as likewise the Russians, and then we shall open our eyes and discover that our policy has been bad.

It is really heartbreaking to reflect how the British name has sunk in public estimation all over Europe, and how British influence has dwindled. We have been losing ground gradually since the Peace, in consequence of the blundering, timid, wavering manner in which our foreign policy has been so long conducted. Such a course can only tend to augment our difficulties, and we shall be forced, in spite of ourselves, into a war under every possible disadvantage, whereas by a well-timed display of energy we might have insured to ourselves many years longer of peace. Rely upon it, that the conquest of Algiers has inspired the people here with views of other conquests, and that they will not be satisfied until they have made an attempt to recover the frontier of the Rhine. This is the favourite idea of all parties here. They talk very big, and begin to hold us cheap. It is high time that we should change our course.

You will perceive that the ministers have lost by the elections. Notwithstanding there will be no change. The King, I am assured, is staunch. If the budget is refused, strong measures will

be resorted to; although, when it comes to the brush, I don't think that the Opposition will venture to refuse it. The Government can depend upon the army, and the Liberals are aware of this.

Lady Stuart is going on a tour to the Pyrenees. I have not seen His Excellency for many weeks, but, as he is now going to be a *garçon*, I suppose that we shall meet.

Next month I shall be in London, where I hope to find you, as the general elections will at all events not force you out of town, no more than King Allen.* So good bye, and pray some news.

Every very truly yours,

J. HARCOURT KING.

Place Louis Seize, No. 6, 17th September, 1830.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

I thank you very much for your letter, which I received two days ago; it appears to me to contain a very just and excellent *exposé* of the extraordinary position in which France, as well as England and other countries, have been placed by the recent Revolution which has occurred here. I agree with you in much, if not in all, you say on that very interesting subject, and find that I can add little to the information you

* Viscount Allen.

have acquired respecting it: still, as I am on the spot from which the wonderful events have originated, and as I not only witnessed many of them, but follow them closely in their various forms, I shall endeavour to give you the impressions they make on my mind.

I allowed myself (like many others much wiser than myself) to be highly fascinated and pleased with the noble and successful efforts made by the people here to upset and get rid of a dynasty and government so weak and inimical to all liberal institutions as that of Charles X.; but I will confess to you that this enthusiasm of the moment is evaporating daily, and that the effects which the Revolution has as yet produced by no means encourage me to expect much, if any, benefit from it. I can perceive no increased energy or wisdom on the part of those who govern at present; whereas the confidence, security, and tranquillity which we enjoyed under the legitimate family are, I fear, lost, and will not be restored to old gentlemen like myself for the remainder of our lease of this life.

Confusion, distrust, and want of that security so essential to a comfortable existence, must now be the order of the day for years to come, if those now in power here are not enabled to pursue the course of prudence which I believe they are for the present much disposed to follow. Fortunately

there is no chance of a dissolution of this *Chambre*, at least for a year to come; but there are upwards of a hundred new Deputies now to be elected, and I presume the choice in the departments will not be a good one. There is, besides, an event hanging over us which very likely may produce serious results, namely, the trials of Polignac and the other ministers. They probably may get off, as far as their lives are concerned, but the people still continue so highly exasperated against them, that, with the weakness of the King and his government, I should not be surprised if they were given up as a sacrifice; in short, my good friend, I repeat that I see nothing about me *en couleur de rose*.

The great fall in all public securities which has taken place here has, without doubt, been in a great measure occasioned by a total want of confidence in the present government, and the fears and distrust which naturally follow; but it has also been produced by the acts of a few daring speculators, which always have an unnatural effect on a bourse so miserably constituted as that of Paris; the *rentes* however have, within these two days, improved, and I should not be surprised to see the liquidation of this eventful month still made at upwards of 70.

Of this you may be assured, that we shall have a very stormy winter here, as far as finance is

concerned; commerce of every description, particularly in Paris, is at a complete stand-still; everybody is making reforms in their expenditure—even those who have in no way suffered by the late changes: horses, carriages, and cooks, are to be had for nothing; *c'est la mode* to remain at home with a solitary lamp, and to receive nobody;—all the world is dissatisfied with what is going on in the interior, and looking with fear and anxiety at what may take place *en dehors*. It is true that the *reconnoissance* of all the foreign powers have arrived; but, with the exception of England, they are evidently forced and constrained, and cannot, therefore, be lasting. I have myself been so far fortunate as to have sold all my *rentes* at 80, and I mean to continue to sell out of them, and I strongly advise you to do the same. Rothschild has been a fearful loser,—this will not distress you, nor any one else! Your English funds will fall considerably, *soyez en sûr*. If I can be of any use to you here, command me freely.

Very faithfully yours,

A. MACKENZIE.*

General Mackenzie.

Rome, December 24th, '30.

DEAR RAIKES,

I have hesitated whether I should make you pay postage for thanks, but I do so, promising not to write again without something else to say, and to pray a continuation of your kindness when the watch-tower of the Dandies is dull.

England seems bad enough; but, before the real struggle comes there must be another change of ministry. Lord Grey will not go too far himself: when overpowered by his friends, he will retire, and then will come the time—a year hence probably. At Lyons I found the whole population arming cheerfully; in Savoy the roads covered with troops and the forts garrisoned, and the guns in the embrasures; Turin quiet and happy, Milan gay, and the Duke of Cannizzaro in great force, though deserted by his Visconti for a younger man—Florence is full of gaiety, with balls every night, and the Cacchina as full as Kensington Gardens. The Normanbys were having theatricals and constant hospitality in a most beautiful palace. Lord Albert Conyngham* seems to be chief favourite among the Florentine ladies. Tell Berkeley Craven that the late Mrs. Aston inquired kindly after him; she is married to a Russian count with an unwritable name of consonants.

The Conclave is hatching a Pope, so the

* Afterwards Lord Londesborough, who died in 1860.

ceremonies of Christmas have lost much of their magnificence; but this place is so agreeable to my gouty joints and its sights to my eyes, that I don't look after its gaieties, which I believe are less numerous than in former years. There has been a little Row project in favour of the Napoleon family. The Beverleys are here, and a cousin of mine, Ramsden: and in a day or two Vesey FitzGerald., who I was delighted to see so much recovered at Florence. Lady Westmorland is here, and Lady Warrender at Florence. I shall be, I hope, in about ten days at Naples, from whence I will bring you some *diavoloni con moschi;* and so, promising not to waste your time or your pence too often, I remain,

Yours most truly,

HERTFORD.

I wish you a merry Christmas.

March 22nd, 1830.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

I have been in Leicestershire till to-day, whence I came up on account of poor Douglas Kinnaird's death, who was a trustee of mine. London is cold, and everything, they all say, very dull. Foley has been ill, but is recovering. The French affair is serious, but the funds there rise. It is supposed that the Ministers hope to gain strength by time, and giving strong assur-

ances of proposing some popular measures; they have money to go on with till October, and then will come a crash, I fear. People are divided here, as to the effect the repeal of the Beer Tax will have on relieving the poor. The reductions are, however, insufficient, and they must sooner or later reduce root and branch, and come to an Income Tax.

The debate in the Commons on the state of the country has already lasted three days, and will occupy two more; it is said to be the dullest that was ever heard. Davenport, the mover, says that he shall require seven hours to wind up. Lady E. Cowper is to marry Lord Ashley: Lord H. Thynne, one of A. Barry's daughters. Lady E.'s divorce bill has made many husbands look grave, servants look sharp, and there has been *main basse* on all pony chaises and jockeys in doubtful married *ménages*.

Remember me to Matuscewic; tell him we miss him much at Melton, and that we have had good sport since the frost. Adieu, my dear Tom, do not think that my *insouciance* goes so far as to neglect being of use when I can, which God knows is seldom, to an old friend.

Yours always,

ALVANLEY.

Thomas Raikes, Esq.
St. Petersburgh.

London, March, 1830.

My dear Raikes,

From your communication, which I received in due course, that is in about a month, I thought there would be little chance of your remaining at St. Petersburgh long enough to hear from me again; but I just learn that your brother does not anticipate your return at so early a period; I therefore risk another jargon.

I will condense as much of the passing matter as I can. Parliament meet under very strong excitement. The distress of the country creates great violence; but as to remedy I know no just reason to believe that any can be found. We are near some crisis, which will gradually work its own way. One thing is certain, viz., that an augmented currency could do no good, simply because the public hoard, and will not use that which exists. The Duke of Wellington remains quite firm, and undoubtedly gains considerable strength in the Lords, and, I think, in the Commons. Lord Jersey goes to Ireland, which conciliates the Greys—and Opposition; and Banks will obtain something which pleases the late Lord Chancellor. The Duke goes, I think, upon the principle of dividing all parties, without committing himself direct to any. Fitzgerald, having retired from ill-health, is replaced by

Herries, and the Mint is not yet given away. The Huskisson and Palmerston party are strong in debating talent, and will give more trouble in the House than all the remainder.

The priests in Ireland have beat Massy Dawson against three-fourths at least of the rich landed interest. They again forced the bankrupt tenant to vote against his patron, whom he was living upon. So far for Catholic concession; that country will never rest satisfied until they have fulfilled O'Connell's views, or are reconquered. Leopold goes as Prince *Regnant* to Greece.

Since writing this, I find from Glengall that you are still at St. Petersburg. I will therefore risk this.

The papers will tell you all about the Duke of Cumberland; he is, however, getting over it. The conduct of the press, and of society just now, is dreadful. There are no lies too vile to print, or too infamous for gentlemen to circulate. Those are the happiest who keep clear of the vortex by living apart from it.

Lord Hertford has been very well in health. He has remained at Sudbourne the last two months; he is just come back; but I know not whether he will go back or not, or go to Italy.

As regards the Government, I now think they will weather the storm, and that without having

recourse to any other party—of which there are three, viz., Huskisson, the Opposition, and the Mountain. They cannot unite, and nothing else would beat the Government.

I do not know a single event that has occurred which would interest you that you cannot find in the papers. You see the King has dismissed General King (equerry) for voting the amendment; it was his own act, unasked by Ministers, so that he is taking rather more to his Government, which he has ever played foul to.

Vesey FitzGerald is going towards Italy; Croker does not go to the Treasurer of Navy; Lord Ellenborough has got out of his Indian scrape; Lord Chandos refused office; Lord Grey is coquetting.

Yours ever,

HENRY F. COOKE.

T. Raikes, Esq.
St. Petersburg.

Paris, August 2nd, 1830.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

I should be very glad to furnish you with good information, if it were in my power, but I really know little or nothing beyond what the newspapers contain. The first scene of the first act of this Revolution is finished, and this capital is

now perfectly tranquil, although the *canaille* remain armed. The Duke of Orleans has a considerable number of partizans, and very possibly he will be chosen King, but there is a strong party for a Republic.

The King left St. Cloud on Saturday morning, and went in the direction of Chartres, escorted by some thousands of his guards.

The accounts from the Departments represent the insurrection as being universal. *Quelle bagarre, mon ami!* Nobody can foresee the consequences of this event. The example is dangerous for the repose of Europe. The Belgians, I apprehend, will soon follow it, and we shall have another general war.

As soon as I can collect any positive and useful information I will write again.

Very truly yours,

J. HARCOURT KING.

I open my letter to inform you that Charles X. having sent to the Duke of Orleans for a *sauf-conduit*, five persons, viz. the Duc de Trevise, the Duc de Coigny, M. Schenan, M. Odiot, and Le Colonel Jacqueminot, have been despatched to escort him and suite to some port where they are to be embarked for the United States of America.

September, 1830.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

I think you will soon be satisfied that I have not entertained exaggerated views as regards the passing events. I am led to view the struggle between kings and people generally as much nearer at hand than I did before, even when I last wrote. By a letter this day, I hear, and I place the highest possible confidence in the quarter from whence I draw my information, that France is rapidly waning to a Republic, and that the present government are fully aware that they have no power to arrest the evil. But what will hasten it is what I have just heard. It seems that France has called upon us, in common with Prussia and Russia, to fulfil our treaty, and in conjunction with those powers occupy the fortresses designated therein. To arrest this evil, our Government have instructed Stuart to make known to the French, that our forbearance must have a limit, and that it is impossible for England to refuse our share of the treaty, if the other powers still persist in requiring it. That instant France will rise *en masse*, and not only take the Low Country, but invade Holland, and wrest from the King of Prussia those Rhenish provinces which require no better than to be annexed to France, and throw off the galling

government of that despotic power. I much mistake, or there is a party, and that a strong one, in France, prepared to confront the standard of infidelity: to make a war against religion, as a popular war in France, and to destroy the seat of Catholic government. The papal throne kings are at a discount, armies are not to be relied upon, gunpowder has become as efficacious in the hands of a mason or carpenter as an old soldier. The secret is out, that armies can be successfully opposed in fair combats, if the scene be a large town, and that generally they have been previously corrupted. The Dutch army are deserting in great numbers; two brigades of Dutch artillery in one day, guns and all material, officers and baggage. If Prince Frederick gets safe into Antwerp, it is as much as his corps can hope for.

What I told you about the English at Paris is true. As to this country, a mere trifle will usher us in forty-eight hours into bloodshed. Lord —— or the Duke of New—, who, on just and legitimate grounds, quarrels with his tenantry—or Mr. Cobbett or any demagogue, may touch the right spring—and then *sauve qui peut*. Such a leviathan in London cannot be kept down, and you will have the Bank of England, perhaps, fall to settle our credit. The Duke must arm the good volunteers; he seems, I know,

very unconcerned: I wish him joy, and the country too. I presume he has some declaration in store for October 24th, that will satisfy the nation. Pray, pray let me have your good lines, that I may have some consolation in my own melancholy prognostics.

Yours ever,

HENRY F. COOKE.

Paris, December 17th, 1830.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

Many thanks for your letter, which arrived some days ago, but too late to send you an answer by the last messenger. I really had not forgot my promise to write to you, and I only delayed doing so until I could form a tolerable opinion in my mind of the state of things; but such a rapid sucession of the most important events embarrasses and perplexes the ideas so much that it is difficult to fix one's judgment.

We are now in the midst of the trials, the particulars of which you will read in the journals much better than I can give them. Everything is perfectly tranquil at present, and the public awaiting the issue of this weighty affair hitherto very patiently. It is, however, apprehended by many persons that an effort will be made on the last day (the day that the sentence will be pro-

nounced,) by the revolutionary party, to create a disturbance. The ministers will be removed back to Vincennes before the sentence is made known. In the meantime the Government has taken every possible precaution to insure tranquillity, and if this grand affair terminates well, *i.e.* without riots, it is the intention of the ministry to display a greater degree of vigour than heretofore.

This is the language of their friends. It is most desirable that they should gain strength, without which there is no hope whatever of peace. I am myself of opinion that it will be utterly impossible to preserve peace many months longer. The war-party is becoming more numerous and clamorous in consequence of the recent events in Poland, and the Government will find it absolutely necessary to get rid of an immense number of turbulent fellows, which can only be done by a war. The Minister of War* is working like a slave to organize the army, and as soon as they can muster a couple of hundred thousand men together on one point I have no doubt that they will commence hostilities. The want of an effective army alone has, I think, hitherto delayed the war. The internal state of the country is wretched: there is no trade, every day produces some fresh bankruptcy, and the

* Marshal Soult.

funds are going down day after day. The winter is only beginning, and there are thousands who have no means of getting their bread. Of course the discontent must increase, and the situation of the Government become more difficult.

There will be some dreadful convulsions in Europe, and if the Sovereigns do not join together, and act with spirit and energy, they will lose their thrones. The object of the *Propaganda* is to revolutionize every country, and you see that they are proceeding rapidly. The system of concession will not avail, the revolutionary spirit must be crushed, or it will overturn every throne.

I don't like the look of things on your side of the water, and I confess that I have not much confidence in some of our new ministers. They have on too many occasions given so much encouragement to the Radicals that they will find themselves in complete contradiction with former professions, or they will have recourse to measures which will plunge the country into great danger. Neither can I approve of any minister making a eulogium on the late French Revolution, particularly in the alarming state in which all Europe now is. Stuart intends to remain here for some months, and has hired an apartment.

My fingers are so benumbed with the cold

that I can hardly hold my pen; and so good-bye, *mon cher ami*, and write me an account of matters at home.

Very truly yours,
J. HARCOURT KING.

Paris, February 21st, 1831.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

According to the best information that I have been able to gather, the object of Aguado's journey to Spain is to negotiate a loan with the government of that country, on the condition that the Cortez bonds shall be acknowledged; but I am assured by some well-informed Spaniards that the King will never consent to such a measure, and consequently Aguado's mission will prove a complete failure. However, there are persons who attribute to it a political motive, in addition to the above-mentioned object, in consequence of the connection between Aguado and Laffitte's nephew, who has succeeded his uncle in the banking-house.

The debates in the Chamber of Deputies for the last three days are now the chief subject of conversation. Each party flatters itself that it will be benefited by the dissolution, which appears inevitable, but the result of a general election is in my opinion extremely doubtful. Some

change must take place in the ministry. The King will most probably accept Montalembert's resignation, and replace him by some individual of the moderate party. Such an arrangement cannot last long. The *parti du mouvement* will finally triumph, and with it we shall have war. Some sudden unexpected event will very likely hasten the explosion of it, but it will be impossible to retard it many months. The present state of things throughout Europe cannot hold out much longer. The revolutionary spirit will dethrone the sovereigns, or it will be crushed by them.

There is no official news of the insurrections in Italy. According to various rumours they are making progress. However, it is to be hoped that the Austrians are by this time on their march; and I expect that they will be soon put down. Our friends at Naples must be somewhat embarrassed. I don't think that a long voyage by sea would be agreeable to them.

News is anxiously looked for from Poland. If the thaw (which is announced) continues, it will impede the movements of the Russian army.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer has displayed an uncommon degree of ignorance: it is really quite incomprehensible. Is it possible that he can remain? Have you any idea of the nature of the Reform Bill? That is the measure which

I most dread and deplore. If I am not egregiously mistaken, it will plunge the Government into endless difficulties, and the country hereafter into the greatest dangers. Whatever may be done, nobody will be satisfied; it will alarm one portion of the community, and disappoint the other. It is, in fact, a labyrinth, and I wonder that any Minister could be rash enough to engage in it.

Our late Ambassador has, I presume, made his appearance at White's. I cannot help thinking that it was an unwise thing to recall him in these times, as he must have been better acquainted than any new man with the situation of affairs here. To be sure, it does not require either much time or talent to put one's self *au courant des affaires*. Adieu. Very truly yours,

J. HARCOURT KING.

Paris, February 28th, 1831.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

In return for my numerous scrawls I expect you to write me an account of the proceedings on the Reform question. What a moment our Ministers have selected for revolutionizing the old established constitution of the country! whilst the Jacobins of every country are moving heaven and earth to overthrow all existing

governments! Surely, if it could be proved that such a step was necessary, this is not the time. But I trust that Parliament will reject the measure. The democracy is already too powerful—give it additional strength, and it will overwhelm both Throne and State.

Here it is manifest that things are getting worse, a natural consequence of the Revolution of July; and I only wonder that anybody at all acquainted with this people could ever have expected a different result. However, their admirers are now opening their eyes, and instead of peace and prosperity they see before them the prospect of war and all its horrors. The King is a mere cipher, the Government without force, and the Chamber of Deputies in a daily state of confusion. As for the Chamber of Peers, nobody knows or cares that it exists. It was inferred from Laffitte's speech on Monday last, that the dissolution would take place immediately; but they seem now to wish to retard it. Laffitte, I am assured, will soon make way for Casimir Périer,—and a little later I imagine that the *parti du mouvement* will take the lead. No Government can last long. In the mean time, it is not unlikely that some event will arise which will accelerate the explosion of war. Already the Jacobins, backed by the press, are making an outcry against Austrian interference in the affairs

of Italy, and are urging the Government to resist it. The state of things here is, in fact, incompatible with the existence of every other Government.

The focus of insurrection is here. The Piedmontese refugees, who have been assembling for some time past on the frontiers of Savoy, are said to have begun their movements on the 26th. It is clear that there has been connivance on the part of France, for the project has been publicly announced for a long time past, and it is only two days ago that an order was sent from hence to disarm them—*moutarde après dîner*. General Belliard is to go as Minister Plenipotentiary to Brussels. He can be useful in organizing the troops, &c. *A-propos de la Belgique*, you perceive that they pay but little attention to the decrees of the London Conference. Their advisers are here.

I have just received a letter from Lord H. from Naples; but he only ventures to allude to the events in Italy, lest his letter should not reach me. He is in excellent health, and charmed with the climate. Adieu.

Very truly yours,

J. HARCOURT KING.

I apprehend that we shall not remain long

without having some fresh troubles here, and further occasion for the services of the National Guards—*voilà du moins ce que l'on dit.*

London, September 11th, 1831.

DEAR SIR,

I was out of town, and received your letter this morning with the enclosure, which I return. I am very much obliged to you for the perusal of this letter, as well as for having allowed me to see others of this interesting correspondence. I thought it probable that the French army would be withdrawn from Belgium, and I hope that the measure of good faith will not break down M. Périer's Government.

Ever, dear Sir,

Yours most faithfully,

WELLINGTON.

Tho. Raikes, Esq.
White's Club House.

Melton, Sunday, December 16th, 1831.

DEAR RAIKES,

As, from my retired situation, I can give you no information whatever, I hope you will not take it amiss if I postpone to my Sunday leisure the acknowledgment of your interesting letter.

On any other day writing forces me to increase my pace to cover, or to incur the risks of being too late: you have been yourself pursuing the same sport, therefore I trust you will understand and forgive me.

The Tories seem to have made dreadful miscalculations as to the result of the elections. I should like to know on what grounds their sanguine hopes rested. We shall see what will happen in the counties. Meanwhile, I am quite clear there will be a very strong infusion of English Radicals added to the Scotch and Irish in the new Parliament. With such a House, and the uncertainty which may hang over the Belgian question, even after the taking of the citadel of Antwerp, no human mind can venture to predict internal or external events.

If you write to me, direct to Cottismore, Oakham, where I am going to spend two or three days.

Yours truly,
MATUSCEWIC.

Belvoir Castle, Friday, January 18th, 1832.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

I left Melton yesterday morning very early for the purpose of coming here; in consequence of which, your letter of the 11th, having been

directed to Melton, reached me yesterday too late for the 10 o'clock post. I mention this circumstance to satisfy you that the slight delay of two hours, which will occur in my answer, does by no means originate in a want of readiness to reply to your question with that punctuality which ought to arise out of feelings of true friendship, but is quite fortuitous, and was much against my own will.

Things look more and more gloomy in France; all I wish is, that no power would attack them, nor act upon a system which might be considered as aggressive. They are sure to have a blow-up in a short time, and then they must cut their own throats, which will be a great blessing to Europe; or attack their neighbours—in which case they will meet with a much stronger and much more successful resistance than they seem to anticipate.

Yours most sincerely,

MATUSCEWIC.

London, November 17th, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR,

I did not receive your letter of the 13th till yesterday morning, upon my road from Walmer to Eastwell Park. I am very much obliged to you

for it. I was delighted with your address;* it will do a great deal of good; it will open men's eyes to the mischief of the transaction to which it relates, and their minds to the reflection upon much more.

Believe me, ever yours
Most faithfully,
WELLINGTON.

Thos. Raikes, Esq.
North Audley Street.

Strathfieldsaye, November 23rd, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR,

The conduct of the Ministers is a consequence of that of their predecessors in office! This is a very easy justification; but when the day of trial comes, it will be found to fail altogether. Their conduct is to be attributed to neither more nor less than ancient faction fifty years old, fears of the French, and a desire to bolster up an administration for Louis Philippe by conniving at and aiding in the national passion for domination, boasting, and bullying—that is the truth.

Believe me, ever yours
Most sincerely,
WELLINGTON.

T. Raikes, Esq.
North Audley Street.

* The City Address on the Dutch Embargo, laid on by the Whigs.

London, March 24, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am afraid that Count Matuscewic is mistaken, and that the Emperor will find his fleet relieved off Sebastopol. Where is Old England, with all her interests in the Levant and in Asia, in all this?

Ever yours most faithfully,

WELLINGTON.

Strathfieldsaye, November 20th, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR,

I return the enclosed, which is very curious. You recollect what I told you about Spain. The truth is, that the war in Spain suits nobody; it is weakness to France. Louis Philippe will not engage in it if he can avoid it; the moment he does, the Continent are more than a match for him, even with England on his side; but, I think that Pozzo has left one element out of his calculation—that is Portugal. In Napoleon's time Portugal was not only sound, but, with our assistance, formidable: it was the basis on which the machinery was founded which finally overturned the world. Portugal is now in a state of revolutionary confusion; but wait a moment: we shall presently see the sale of the estates of the Church and nobility in Por-

tugal; loans negociated upon that security; revolutionary fines raised in England, France, Belgium, and Poland, and paid with that money; and I fear the whole Peninsula revolutionised by the aid of these means, and by following this example in Spain. This is the result to which our revolutionary Government is tending. I shall be glad to see you whenever you will come. Settle with Croker; only, let me know a day or two before. I have very good accounts of the pheasants.

Believe me,
Ever yours, most sincerely,
WELLINGTON.

London, July 7th, 1837.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

I was out of town when your letter arrived, and had not time to answer it by the last mail. You will have already heard enough of the behaviour of the young Queen, which is the theme of general applause. As far as it has gone, she has acted with extraordinary propriety, and there is every reason to think that she is equal to her great situation. It was only to be expected that she would put herself into the hands of Melbourne, and she has done so without reserve. I am well content that it should so be, for Mel-

bourne is a man of sense and honour; and I believe he will deal fairly by her, and exercise the prodigious power with which he is invested in a conscientious manner.

It is needless to say, that this change has propped up the tottering Government, and that the cordial support of the Crown puts them in a much more favourable position. Both parties, as you see, are endeavouring to make use of the Queen's name, which is bandied about liberally on all sides—the Tories making her out to be the unwilling prisoner of the Whigs, and the Whigs that she is their zealous and kind mistress. I don't suppose any impression will be made on the elections by these declamations on either side; and as both parties are equally confident that they shall gain something, and neither that they shall gain much, I dare say the returns will produce no very different result.

But what you want to know is, my opinion as to the prospects of the country—not of those of any party in particular. We have not had much opportunity of discussing politics for a long time, but you may have discovered that I am not an alarmist. I never have been, and it would take a great deal to make me one. I never think of making comparisons between this country and France, or between this and any other country. It is impossible for anybody to be more anti-radical,

more hostile to organic changes and speculative political doctrines than I am; but, nevertheless, I am not the least afraid of any Radical movement here, nor do I believe that there is any real Radical tendency in the present Government. It is true that they are supported, generally, by the Radicals in Parliament; and it is true that, if that support were withdrawn, they could not stand, because the two great parties are so nicely balanced, that the weight of the Radicals turns the scale. Of course, Government are obliged to *ménager* that section of their supporters as much as they can; but, after all, they have not made any concessions to them inconsistent with Conservative principles; and you see how sore and disappointed they are that they cannot obtain more than they do.

If you read John Russell's speech in answer to Roebuck some weeks ago, you must have seen a sort of manifesto of his principles, and a direct and strong attack upon all the movement questions. In Melbourne's speeches (*passim*) you will have found the same principles enunciated, and I have no doubt that both are sincere, and that they have no thoughts of yielding to any pressure from without, even if there was any such pressure urging them to the adoption of violent measures.

I do not, however, believe that there is any such influence at work; and I take the com-

plaints and confessions of the Radicals themselves as the best proof that can be furnished of the decline of Radicalism here. It would lead me into a dissertation much too long for both of us, if I were to begin a review of the state of the country, and of the measures which had passed, and were in agitation, for the purposes of demonstrating how safe our present state is; but you may easily take a retrospective view yourself, and, banishing all prejudice from your mind, say whether you can really find any serious cause for apprehension, except that which grows out of the violent collision and reckless violence of two great antagonistic parties—each bent upon the possession of power.

If I had my choice, I would rather see Sir Robert Peel at the head of affairs here than any other man; but I am not apprehensive of any great evil resulting from the Whig tenure of office. I am not at all sure whether the Tories, in strong opposition, are not able to do more good than they could do in office, with a small majority; and a large one neither can now expect to obtain. What disgusts me the most in the conduct of the Tories is, their endeavour to raise a Protestant cry, and to stir up the elements of religious strife, moving heaven and earth to exasperate Catholics against Protestants, and Protestants against Catholics, and

to represent their cause as the cause of religion itself.

I am aware that I have filled two sheets with nothing but my own opinions in gross, and without much reason in detail for that which I entertain. You may therefore attach as much or as little weight to it as you please. I should be very glad to hear from you again; and when your fears get unruly about our goings on, if you will send them to me, I will try to administer a *calmant*. What is ——— doing here? I see him at Crockford's occasionally, nowhere else—always agreeable. It is a pity he is not established here, and living like other people.

Ever yours,

C. C. GREVILLE.

To T. Raikes, Esq.
Paris.

London, July 28th, 1837.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

Thanks for your letter, which I may perhaps take another opportunity of answering more immediately. I only write a line now to tell you how the elections are going, about which you are of course interested. In my opinion, nothing can be more satisfactory than the result. The borough elections in England are over; the contests have been more numerous and more severe than I ever remember—great changes and

very little difference in the result, but that difference slightly in favour of the Opposition. Their lists do not correspond, because in some cases gains are claimed by one party which are denied to be such by the other. Up to this time the real gain and loss is thirty-three gained by Government, and thirty-five lost. But Government are undoubtedly disappointed at this result, having confidently expected to gain on the English boroughs, and having lost some particular places, where they had not imagined there was any danger.

No dissolution ever took place under more favourable circumstances: the popularity of the new reign, the abundant and unscrupulous use of the Queen's name (though it must be owned this is common to both, and we see her blazoned on the most opposite banners), and making the most of the King of Hanover's *flare-up*—all combined to put Government in a powerful attitude. Yet they acquired no strength, and, as the English counties will probably balance Ireland, they are not likely to acquire any.

All this, however, and the question of a few votes more or less on either side, is to me matter of great indifference. What I regard with satisfaction is, the state of feeling evinced in various ways—the exhibition not of a Tory, but of an anti-Radical, spirit. In the first place, *all* the

applications to the Reform Club for candidates, which came from the country, said, "Send us Whigs; don't send us Radicals." You have seen the language of Ministers, and that which they put into the Queen's mouth, and now you see several of the principal Radicals ejected—Ewart, Roebuck and Palmer, Perronet Thompson, Wigney; and Grote, though not thrown out, run so close by the Conservative candidate that it is the same thing, especially as there is a great probability of a scrutiny unseating him. This is the strongest case of all, as he is by far the fittest man of all the candidates to be M.P.—great talents, high character, a man of business, learned, of unblemished reputation, and exemplary in private life, but of extreme opinions.

In Ireland, I already know that in several places Whigs will be substituted for Radicals, or members of the Tail; so that, on the whole, the new House of Commons will present a much more respectable aspect than the last. All this is, to me, who care nothing for either party, and greatly for what Cobbett used to call "the thing," extremely cheering; and I give you this as an antidote to the ravings of your Tory correspondents—for I presume you have such—who give you on paper some of the outpourings of zeal and nonsense which they are continually dealing forth verbally here. One enormous gain the

Tories have accomplished—in exchanging Bonham and Ross for Planta and Billy Holmes. Whatever the pack may be, they will be better whipped-in.*

Yours very truly,
C. C. GREVILLE.

Dunkerque; December 13th, 1837.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

Gibbon, in his Journal, denounces the custom of submitting literary labours before publication to friends. "Some," says he, "praise from politeness; others criticize from vanity." He is right, perhaps. Still, I should much like to peruse your manuscript; not that my comments could improve the work,† but the work might improve me; for I am deplorably ignorant about Russian statistics.

How can you suppose that I am more able than yourself to supply you with quotations? I have very few classical books here, and no classical acquaintance; while my memory is as treacherous as a black-lead pencil. Bob Bligh, when travelling with the Marquis of Ely through the Highlands, turned the Marquis out of his

* Holmes was whipper-in.

† Mr. Raikes published his account of St. Petersburg under the title of "The City of the Czar," in 1838.

own carriage, because he did not know who was the mother of Queen Elizabeth. In vain might he look for a travelling companion here. Do you recollect a story of Tom Stepney's* (a man far underrated, in point of humour, by you and your Oatlands friends,) about his countrymen, the Welsh? On the Restoration of Charles II. a form of prayer and thanksgiving was sent down into Wales, to be read in all churches and chapels. "This is all very well, perhaps, for Charles II." said the Welsh; "but what is become of Charles I.?" Of Cromwell they had never heard a syllable. What I have, that I send thee.

The conduct of our Ministers reminds me of a scene I once witnessed in the market-place of Calais. A number of old women were encouraged and hallooed on by a gang of ragged ruffians to seize the corn which was pitched in the market. The silly old creatures did this to the heart's content of their rascal abettors, who immediately ran off, and escaped with the plunder before the police interfered, and sent the offenders to prison. Thus, in this equitable division, the rogues got all the prey and the old women all the punishment.

You are quite right. Burdett did not bring

* Sir Thomas Stepney.

himself, as it is said, to a temporary poverty by moneys spent at the Westminster election, but at the Middlesex contests with Mainwaring and the Ministers.

Commend me to your daughter, to whom I was introduced once, and saw no more—just beheld and lost—admired and mourned.

I remain, truly yours,

SCROPE DAVIES.

St. Petersburg, January 19th, 1838.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

A thousand thanks for your letter of January 2nd. I have just received it, and avail myself of an English messenger's departure to return you an immediate answer. You are quite right in publishing your recollections of your journey to the North, and in taking the advice you mention.

In the present instance, however, the author's name would have been sufficient to those who, like myself, have had the pleasure to form with him an intimacy of long and dura[illegible]nding. In any attempt to convey to the pub[illegible]correct notion of such a country as Ru[illegible]nothing would be more uninteresting, noth[illegible]more untrue, nothing more preposterous, than a constant and indiscriminate panegyric. It is impossible, indeed, that Russia should have, in the space of

one century, grown out of an inhospitable, insignificant, and almost unknown region, into a first-rate European empire, without considerable native vigour, vast domestic resources, and strong national spirit in the hour of danger; added to the impulse of some superior minds, to the frequent interposition of that mysterious power called fortune, and to great errors committed by those who tried either to check its progress, or even to attack its very existence. But it is equally improbable that, in its present condition, Russia should not blend many of the vices of a hasty and yet incomplete civilization with those of decayed barbarity. Russia must therefore afford enough room to the critical remarks of any attentive observer. At the same time, I am too well acquainted with your high breeding ever to have thought that you should not studiously avoid the very semblance of personalities, and too thoroughly satisfied of your sense of justice not to have anticipated your determination to set aside that vulgar hue and cry with which the English press has been attempting to hunt down, as it were, a sovereign, who comes in, of course, for his share of human frailties, but also of the highest and best gifts that in human nature can belong to the mighty ruler of a mighty empire. You may easily fancy that I shall feel extreme impatience to peruse your publication. Pray,

therefore, lose no time in putting a copy of it, under a sealed cover, directed to me, and in asking Medem,* in my name, to get it forwarded with the very first opportunity.

We are here so far off, that we hardly know anything else about Canadian affairs but the first breaking out of the insurrection, and the great odds, in point of numbers, against which the English troops had to contend. Things had certainly then assumed a serious aspect, but I am one of those who firmly believe that the rebellion will be crushed. I hope it will, and wish it most sincerely; not only from partiality and attachment to England, where I am proud to have numerous friends, but upon the broad and wholesome principle that any well-wisher to his own country ought not to countenance rebellion and internal war in any other.

This principle, true and just in all periods, is still more true and just in ours; for such are the connections, such the reciprocity of evil and good, which the length of the general peace has established between all the European powers, that revolution and war in one must necessarily endanger the calm, the prosperity, the safety, and the commerce of every other.

* Count Medem, then Secretary to the Russian Embassy in Paris.

So much for the shallow reasonings and blindness of those newspaper politicians, some of whom are preaching a crusade against Russia, which they want to blot out of their maps; whilst others boldly advocate the legitimacy of all possible insurrections, unaware of, or intentionally indifferent to the amount of calamity they would entail upon England itself by the fulfilment of any one of their fondest contingencies. But, be that as it may, the Canadian insurrection, whether speedily extinguished or ominously successful, cannot fail to add to the weakness of the present Cabinet. Ministers may keep their place, but they must come to an open breach with many of their former supporters, and borrow their strength from the Conservative Opposition—a most dangerous loan under any circumstances, and which, almost without an exception, proves fatal, sooner or later, to those who are obliged to make use of it. The question will be whether the Conservatives will find themselves equal to the task of forming a strong and durable administration. I shall hail the event with the greatest joy; but living, as I do, for the winter, under the polar star, I can have but a very dim insight into its possibility.

Lord Wellesley's *bon-mót* is capital. I did not think that any more spirit could be elicited from that once very powerful mind. Have you ever

read his Correspondence, or ever perused with any attention those despatches of his which were published in Gurwood's "Duke of Wellington?" I consider them as extremely creditable to Lord Wellesley for statesmanlike views, clearness of talent, and uncommon beauty of language. Nothing can be more ludicrous than old Tuffiakin's adventure with the Noailles. What an ass he has made of himself! It is an excellent anecdote and most amusing. But you will certainly apply a very different epithet to my letter if I go on scribbling any longer. From the very length of my reply, you will understand the pleasure with which I am keeping up our usual *causeries*, even at the distance which now intervenes between us. Pray, therefore, my dear Raikes, whenever you have time to spare, let me have a line from you.

Ever yours,

MATUSCEWIC.

Thomas Raikes, Esq.

Cottismore, February 18th, 1838.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

I received your most welcome and amusing letter at Grimsthorpe, and have many excuses to make for my delay in acknowledging it; the best is, that though the last six weeks have passed very pleasantly at Belvoir, Burghley, &c.

the monotony of a country life does not furnish much to say. You say the same of Paris, and my correspondents say the same of London.

We were quite the cloth-of-gold at Belvoir!—four dukes, three marquises, three earls, four knights of the Garter, innumerable viscounts, barons, and dukes' younger sons,—more than half a million of rental every day at dinner! The great Duke of S—— extremely well, and the Duchess very affable.

Your speculations about our Government are perfectly true; but, when you see the names in this extraordinary division on the Ballot, you will see what a thankful office it will be to undertake the Government. Every Whig, including John Russell, will vote for it, supposing we came in. It will undoubtedly cut both ways; and after the evidence given on the Roxburghshire Committee, it is, I think, clear that we should have gained the election had secret voting been permitted; and in the large populations, the tyranny of the mob is a very great set-off against our aristocratical influence on the little ones. Our farmers' interests are so identified with ours, that I do not apprehend much mischief from the ballot in the counties. I hope this is not a too sanguine view of the subject; for if this minority goes on increasing, to it we must come at last.

I believe there is such a fund of good sense in

this country, that it is impossible to revolutionize it. In the same way, you will see that the spirit of loyalty of our Canadian brethren has completely redeemed all the blunders and weakness of our rulers. This outbreak has proved a healthiness and stamina in our Transatlantic possessions nobody believed in before. It has given us a legitimate excuse of increasing our army, of absorbing usefully the half-drilled miscreants of Evans, turned loose on a population already wanting employment; and, by some hocus pocus, Howick proposes an addition of 800 men and 600 horse, at an increase of expenditure of 47,000*l.* This is his statement; and, if correct, I shall think him a very clever fellow!

America has shown very friendly feelings on this business; and, what is better, I believe is both willing and able to discharge their debt to us. Notwithstanding the severity of the winter, our tenants pay their rents cheerfully, and the agricultural poor submit to be starved by Frankland Lewis and Co. without a murmur: not so the manufacturer; and these most pragmatical *doctrinaires* are perilling the whole measure by introducing it where it is impracticable, and insisting on too wholesale a diffusion of gruel.

I showed both your letters to Willoughby, who was much amused by them. I have never quitted the ingle these six weeks, except in my

britschka, to change quarters. I am, in consequence, seedy, taking colchicum and blue pill. Heaven knows when we are to hunt again. The snow is deep. I still intend to come to Paris in April, and to go to the East in July. Very fortunately, neither my brother Henry nor my brother-in-law are hit for Canada.

Ever yours,
ROKEBY.

Dunkerque, February, 1838

DEAR RAIKES,

I pray you to seek ———, and to throw down before him my glove of defiance at tennis. About the middle of next month I hope to meet him, and I expect he will not refuse to engage me on equal terms. I am out of practice, having nothing here relating to tennis, save one ball in a drawer, and a street ycleped "Rue du Jeu de Paume," where a tennis-court once stood. The influenza has added half fifteen to my years, and has taken away from my play half thirty; yet I empower and authorize you to hurl my defiance at his head. I dare him to the combat, which shall be *à l'outrance*.

Juvenal, in his 14th Satire seems to say, that

* The late Lord Rokeby.

no man was too old, and no child too young, to shake the dice-box:—

"Si damnosa senem juvat alea, ludit et hæres
Bullatus, parvoque eadem movet arma fritillo."

Suetonius, in his Life of Augustus, describes him as inordinately fond of play; and Claudius was so addicted to gaming, that he played while taking his rides in his chariot, and wrote a book on the subject of play. Hence Seneca, in his Apotheosis of Claudius, assigns to him as his occupation in hell, to play eternally at dice, with a box that had no bottom:—

"Nam quoties missurus erat resonante fritillo,
Utraque subducto fugiebat tessera fundo,
Cumque recollectas audebat mittere talos,
Lusuro similis semper, semperque petenti
Decepere fidem: refugit, digitosque per ipsos
Fallax assiduo dilabitur alea furto.
Sic cùm jam summi tanguntur culmina montis,
Irrita Sisyphio volvuntur pondera collo."

So much for royal gamblers, of whom the greatest, perhaps, that ever existed, was the late Emperor Napoleon. He was all for double or quits, and threw in some dozen mains, and, finally, was of course ruined.

Tell me what ——— says to my challenge, and I will endeavour to send you a more worthy letter than I have here scrawled.

Commend me to your daughter, and say that when I come to Paris, I will show her a French

translation of "Manfred," of which I possess the copyright, and which, should she declare it to possess such merit, as I am informed it does, I intend to publish, together with some other writings about which I have no alarm.

Adieu.

Ever yours sincerely,

SCROPE DAVIES.

Dunkerque, March 14, 1838.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

Your agreeable letter found me in bed, suffering from a second attack of the "grippe," which has left me more dead than alive. Swift, on some occasion of illness, says, "Thank God, I may now say with Horace, 'Non omnis moriar,' for I am half dead already."

There are two modes of getting rich—one by increasing your income, the other by diminishing your expenditure. It is Swift, also, who observes, that the accommodating your wants to your means is like cutting off your feet to avoid the expense of shoes. One thing I have discovered, but somewhat too late in life, that a man can live on very little; and that philosophic happiness is perhaps preferable to civil, or vulgar, happiness (as Burke terms it): the former consists in wanting but little, the latter

in wanting a great deal; and both, in possessing what we want. To you, the recollection of what has been seems more dear than the present. "Quantum minus est," (as Shenstone says of his niece,) "cum reliquis versari quam tui meminisse." In Caliph Vathek is to be found the same sentiment. In Byron, frequently this idea occurs; and at the head of one of his minor poems he has printed Shenstone's epitaph.

On Saturday night it is my intention to be in Paris; not to sleep, that I never can after a journey. How is it that, when, some nights 'twixt sleep and waking, I hear the chimes, the music appears unearthly?—

"Sweet, as from blest voices uttering joy."

I must finish the lines, the inspired lines, of Milton—

"Heaven rung with jubilee; and loud hosannas filled
The eternal regions."

No such poetry now!

When you ask me to partake of poor John King's favourite dish, a leg of mutton, pray do not ask above two persons. I really now have not impudence for a dinner-party. "Not fewer than the Graces, and not more than the Muses," is a saying attributed to Lord Chesterfield: it is as old as Aulus Gellius. Swift says, "a large number spoils company." It is so; conversation is not general. They form parties of intel-

lectual *écarté*, instead of playing a round game. During a space of nearly six months, I have never but once drank more than one bottle of weak Bordeaux per diem. This I solemnly declare: I have surprised myself.

The French translation of "Manfred" is already packed up in my trunk, and I must request your daughter's sincere and just opinion on its merits. In taste, we lay far behind the other sex. "The hand of little employment hath the daintier sense."

I pray you take an early opportunity of telling B. H. I mean soon to meet him in the arena at tennis. One of the markers told me that if he would exert himself he would beat me: I think otherwise. Tell me what he says. Commend me to the future critic of the French "Manfred."

Ever yours,

SCROPE DAVIES.

London, May 25, 1838.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

I cannot say how sorry I am for Talleyrand's death. He was one of the last of that great school of politeness and social eminence which is now nearly if not quite extinct; and, whatever he may have been in youth and middle age, his declining years have ebbed away with admirable tranquillity, and in the constant exercise of many

very amiable qualities, as well as of a conservative wisdom and moderation becoming to himself and beneficial to the world. He will be a loss to the King of France; his counsels were always followed by him, and he constituted a kind of link between the old and the new men. We go on here as usual, and there is not a syllable of news.

Ever yours truly,

C. C. GREVILLE.

To Thos. Raikes, Esq.

Milan, September 29th, 1838.

DEAR RAIKES,

I received your letter yesterday at Como, and lose not a moment in begging you to stay for two or three days more at Venice, and prevail on Yarmouth, that I may have the pleasure of seeing you both. I intend starting from hence to-morrow, Saturday night, and going to Venice without doing more than old McDowall used to do, "*get out to peep at Raggleswade;*" and I shall be there in thirty, forty, or sixty hours *selon* the stoppages for want of horses; but on Thursday I shall arrive and descend at the Albergo Reale. In the meantime, if you get this letter before you see me, which is doubtful, for the post is often retrograde in this country, pray look at one or two private apartments near your inn

for myself. I don't care about looking on the *canale*, as somebody one knows is sure to have a window for one to spunge upon. I shall have the greatest pleasure in seeing you after several years of absence, and so many, many years of pleasing *souvenirs* and recollections. It will make us both for a moment feel young and happy again; and such moments should be carefully cherished and made the most of.

I saw your daughter at Paris, as she will have told you; the Duchess de Gramont, with whom she was, appears to bear her changed fortunes with a most amiable philosophy, which does her infinite credit, but which it is difficult to gain if you have it not naturally.

The Beauforts and Damers will probably see you before I do. They will not speak very favourably of Milan. I was pleased here because I saw our old comrades Mildmay and Montrond. The first has changed in appearance entirely: the whiskers are suppressed, and a most formidable pair of campaigning moustaches have been successfully cherished. He is grown fat, and, like poor Brummell, has not got beyond 1817 in English affairs—still talks of Macao at Watiers, and asks after ——? Montrond is wonderful: apoplexy and gout do their worst, but cannot subdue his spirits and *esprit;* he killed us with laughing at his stories about M. de Talleyrand's

death, which, though it deeply affected him, has still its ludicrous side: and his legacy of a standing-up desk to write at did not soften his natural inclination to be a little sarcastic. He said that when the signature to the retractation was signed, a priest declared that it was a miracle, on which he gravely said that he had already known of just such another miracle—that "when General Gouvins was killed, he, Montrond, with General Latour Maubourg, went to the spot where he lay, and that they asked the only person who had seen the catastrophe how it occurred; this was a hussar, who replied, 'Le boulet l'a frappé, et il n'avoit que juste le temps de me dire, Prenez ma bourse et ma montre; et il est mort!'" This apologue, as you may suppose, was like a shell thrown into Dino's coterie.

Poor Brummell is become imbecile; he saw ——, and knew him, but in a few minutes afterwards he forgot him, and said that his friends had been kind to him, with the exception of ——, who was a shabby fellow, and had done nothing, after having promised everything! He is grown slovenly and dirty; is, however, otherwise well, and lives on what we subscribe for him.

Adieu, dear Raikes, remember me most sincerely to Yarmouth.

Yours always,

ALVANLEY.

Rome, November 27, 1838.

MY DEAR TOM,

I had hoped to hear from you before this, and now throw myself on your generosity to enliven our dulness by some communication from the seat of life. We are dead here—dead as mutton, and *Galignani* only arrives three times a week to restore our suspended animation. If it were not for the gout, I should be hardly conscious of existence, and my mind is so saturated by the perusal of Gibbon, and the sight of antiquities, that I identify the decline of my own animal spirits and intelligence with that of this decayed empire. I know not why it is so funereal, as we have lots of people of all sorts—Gentle Devon, Caernarvons, Beverleys, Cadogans, Robert Grosvenors, Southamptons, &c. Sneyd, Brooke Greville, and Old Ramsey, the principal diners-out. The Jerseys are gone on to Naples, and I believe the Damers: Alvanley and Lamb are gone there from Leghorn. Besides all these, hundreds of unknown bulls and cows. Wiesbaden has failed, and I have been a cripple this last week, and have not deserved it; so you must take my croaking with some allowance. Madame de —— is here, and my best resource, but she is lodged nearer heaven than she will probably ever be again, and Sneyd has put himself as

high actually in her pocket. I had expected the Damers and Lady William Russell to winter here, and am entirely out of my calculation. I have occasional dinner parties, the *cuisine* being very tolerable at my hostel, having had the wisdom to remain in it instead of seeking a wretched lodging, to be fed for some incredibly few *pauli*. I have just been interrupted by Sneyd, who is very nearly as much bored as myself, and deeply deplores Paris.

I shall go to Naples in February, and progress thence into the East, whenever the spring may expand her genial attractions, and steam supply the conveyance. If I continue a cripple, I shall return to Paris; I have never heard from Matuscewic since we parted at Baden, and am too low to be angry. I flatter myself the enormous distance that separates us accounts for it, and that some missive from his hyperborean region is now on its way. I trust your Venetian fever is over, and that all your insane projects are renounced. I have the Duchesse de Sagan living under me; and, as Roman ceilings are not double, have the advantage of hearing a very dry cough emanate from her august, but somewhat time-riven, lungs. Lady M. T. is to espouse Prince D. and speedily; the palace is rubbed up fire-new, and the Corso looks like a patched pair of breeches, so unlike the gloom and filth

of the circumjacent *palazzi*. This Prince has jilted the daughter of the Austrian ambassadress, and one of the Zichy's unattached has said something not very civil to him about it, for which interference his master sent him away. The youngest brother, D——, performed the same process on a Severola, to whom he was engaged, who took to her bed, and died; and the feeling of the public, both high and low, is so much excited about it, that Heaven knows when he can dare return to Rome. They conducted the funeral, with the young lady exposed, by the D—— palace, and the porter closed the gates, dreading some explosion of feeling.

We have talked of nothing this month except the discovery of a baker's tomb. The great subject of discussion is, whether he baked his rolls for Republicans or Imperialists. No one can doubt his profession, as the whole operation is kneaded in very imperishable bas-relief; but the quality of his customers divides the critics. Petre thinks one way, Visconti another. So much for our innocent amusements; and may God forgive our mirth, if it can be so excited. Lady Coventry *donne beaucoup à dîner*, and is splendidly established; the only inconvenience for me is, that there are one hundred and twenty-two steps to mount, and four to descend, before one arrives in her presence, and all the former in the open air!

I believe she has the entire possession of her fortune since the late Lord Coventry's death, and very fine plate and state liveries are the result.

As to opera, we have Grisi's elder sister, Giudetta, who, having married a Milanese gentleman, had retired from the stage, and her talent is, in consequence, a little rusted; but hardly any one goes to the theatre. I would give a trifle to look into the *Variétés* to-night, or even into the Club. Take pity, and indite me a letter to the East. Remember me very kindly to your daughter, and believe me,

Ever very truly yours,

ROKEBY.

To T. Raikes, Esq.

Naples, May 24th, 1839.

DEAR RAIKES,

In the hotbed of politics and civil war in which you are living, it will be tranquillity to you to receive a letter from the head-quarters of *far niente*, of political apathy, maccaroni, tarantella, and sunshine. Here I am quite alone, as far as English are concerned, for they are all gone, and I alone cannot tear myself away from this delightful do-nothing place. I have got to think that looking out of the window at the sea, snuffing up the afternoon breeze, driving up

and down the Corso at night, and then supping lightly on fish and Lacryma Christi, is the perfection of existence; and when a souvenir of more brilliant amusements, more exciting pleasures, and younger and happier days, flashes across my memory, I only heave a little very quiet sigh, drink another glass of Lacryma, and relapse back into the vacancy of thought from which it had momentarily roused me.

News comes here so late that it has lost its freshness; and absence, that foe to friendship as well as love, has operated on all my friends in England, so that the only letters I get are a few on business, which I am grown too much of a Neapolitan even to open! My thoughts, however, will revert to those whom I have loved, and lived with; and, in spite of my philosophy, I find myself longing to see or hear of them. I therefore fire this shot at you, to tell you that I am alive, and to summon you to give me a like assurance.

My time since I saw you at Venice has been passed delightfully. Florence, Rome, and, above all, this place, have answered all my expectations. People ask one whether one likes Rome or Naples best: it is an absurd question. They are both admirable in their way, but it is as if one was asked whether one preferred "Semiramide" to the "Carnival de Venise," Talma to Taglioni.

This place is, however, intended for elderly gentlemen who wish to go easily down the inclined plane of life. Pleasing but quiet society, plenty of gaiety out of doors for the eye, and very good cheer in the house for the appetite, and perfect liberty to do what you like without being questioned. The people of the world here are glad to see you if you come to them, and don't care if you don't. All this, and an air perfumed with orange-flowers, makes existence glide away imperceptibly and easily. I have got a house at Castellamare which is delicious, in the shade, half-way up a hill, planted in the centre of a garden of oranges, lemons, and vines, with a terrazzo that commands the whole bay—Vesuvius, Ischia, &c. It is a perfect paradise; but the devil of it is, I am alone in it—no Eve, not even a serpent, to tempt me.

Why should you not put on your travelling cap, get into the *malle-poste*, run down to Marseilles in three days, and come by Geneva, Livourne, &c. here in five more. I will receive you with open house and arms, and we will rail at the world together, talk of the past as perfection, and the present as deteriorated, after the fashion of elderly beaux, and then turn to and enjoy ourselves over a bottle, and our past conquests and pleasures. Do this, my dear Tom, I beg of you; if you will not, write me a letter of excuse twice

as long as this, and ten times more agreeable. You saw in the papers that I was to be married. No such luck has befallen me. The person mentioned is a charming woman, young enough to be my daughter; and as I saw a good deal of her, the newspapers, who pursue us English wherever we go, popped in an article which might have made it unpleasant for her and myself, had we not had too much good sense to mind it.

I enclose you 300 francs, with which I wish you first to pay Greville the postage of this letter, and then buy me as many books as you can for it, and send them by the Roulage.

Yours ever,

ALVANLEY.

London, May 31st, 1839.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

I am sorry to hear your unsatisfactory opinion of the state of things in France. The attempt here to get up what is called a "queenite agitation," is considered to have very signally failed, and I don't think the public are much in error; of course party men will turn it (on both sides) to party purposes, and distort the facts accordingly.

I have been very ill with the gout—more or less lame for above three weeks, and for more than a week have never left my room. I am

now mending, and, if I have no relapse, hope to be about in a day or two, but I am still a very poor creature. I conclude this session will be scrambled over, but what afterwards I know not. You see by the papers that they have refused to address the Queen in the city. The Grand Duke goes to-day; it is said he is not satisfied with the Queen; but I can't find out why, except that she did not ask him to dinner very often. She supplied him with horses and carriages, one of her lords, and gave him two dinners, plenty of balls, and a *fête* at Windsor. He is very ordinary looking. *Au reste*, I know nothing of him, except that he scatters money with inconceivable profusion, and it is provoking to hear that he does not know how on earth to get rid of the sum appropriated for his expenses here. The principal gainers by him will have been Messrs. Mivart, and Storr and Mortimer, whose bills I should guess would be curiosities. They will not have soon again the plucking of a pigeon with such gaudy plumage. Clarendon is to be married Tuesday next.

Ever yours most truly,

C. C. GREVILLE.

Ancona, November 5th, 1839.

MY DEAR TOM,

Here am I celebrating the glorious anniversary of the immortal Guy *in carcere duro*, having been condemned to thirteen days' more quarantine, though the sanitary state of the East *ne laisse rien à désirer*. I wrote you a long epistle from either Pera or Therapia, which Alvanley, whom I saw at Athens, tells me you had not received. It may have followed you, and, if it has, you would be naturally looking out for me by the end of this month; but the journey is long, the weather cold, and I have been now broiled so many months, I dread so rapid a transition. All this would not have made me give up Paris; but my sister has such an anxious desire to pass the winter at Rome that I have capitulated *bien malgré moi*, though I believe it is the best thing I can do for my own health. But I had intended to amuse myself, and a bottle of Pomard with you was not the least tempting of my anticipations.

I am perfectly recovered the *kyrielle* of maladies I had at Baireuth. I have been married for the last five weeks to Andrew Barnard and Robert Hay. *Nous trois* Fakardins contracted at Pera, paid a visit to the fleet at Besika

Bay, found old Stopford commanding a French *altesse royale*, and all the officers of the fleet loud in praise of the beauty and good order of the *Parlez-vous*, who they declare will be tough morsels if ever enemies. The fleets were equal in number; but the *Parlez-vous* outnumber us in guns and men. They live in perfect harmony, and all seem agreed that they are there for no earthly purpose wearing out European spars and cables, much to the amazement of the Captain Pacha and Mehemet Ali, who have not the least wish to part, or any one Turk among them. I perambulated the Troad, and from Smyrna made an equally foolish expedition to Sardis, where there is little more to see. We had four most disagreeable days on board a little boat from Syra to the Piræus, in a gale of wind that looked very formidable, whether it were so or not; nine days' quiet in the Piræus, and a most pleasant week with the Damers, from Trieste, with a German doctor and a French artist *en suite*, and Alvanley, *sans domestique*, having left one ill at Malta, and a stop-gap taken ill at Syra. He has a French Canadian, a *fides Achates*, who is daguerreotype mad. They are all gone on to Constantinople. Sir Edmund Lyons does the honours most hospitably. The old temples and young Queen divide the attention of the intelligent traveller.

From thence we boated to Egina and Epidauro; rode to Napoli, Argos, Mycene, Nemea, Corinth, and by the littoral of the Gulf of Lepanto to Patros, whence the most perfect of Austrian steamers (which are, *par parenthèse*, the *beau idéal* of vessels) conveyed us to Corfu, where I left my companions. Sir Howard Douglas has a very good thing of it—a terrestrial paradise, two splendid mansions—and has settled the posts of his refractory Assembly to the satisfaction of Normanby and little John. I found on board Count Zichy, a brother of Princess Metternich, who gave a very indifferent account of Princess S——. Pray, write me word about her. I hear the Lieven is very well, and, I suppose, in the third heaven in her visits to St. Cloud. I have made better use of my time than Sneyd, which has left me inestimable recollections, but which I have no wish to revisit. I intend a little touch of Spain before I come to Paris in the spring, but it will be a very homœopathic one; a visit to Matuscewic in the autumn at Stockholm; and a most decided squat at Paris the next winter, if I should live so long.

I shall be out on the 13th and take the direct road to Rome, paying my orisons at Loretto in the way. I hear the Flahaults are to be there. I have nobody to talk to here, and am without furniture or fire-place, and literally alive with

mosquitoes, owing to the French having made a magazine of hay in the place. There can be no commerce; because, had I gone to Trieste, I should have been let out to-day. I have seen the plague *de si près*, that I am a great contagionist; but when there is, and has been, none in the neighbouring countries, and one has already performed so much quarantine, these precautions are grossly absurd, and that beast Chiaveri sends me an order to let me off two days in case I arrived in a sailing vessel. I have *le compère* Matthieu nearly *pour tout potage*. My pittance comes from a distance, tough and cold, and I dare not indulge in a solitary intoxication, though the chilly weather has made me abandon teetotalism. Take pity on me, and indite to Rome forthwith. I have some hope Clarendon may winter there, which will be a great resource.

So Johnny of Bedford has at last had a decisive fit. I hear Johnny has already *tranché* many colonial knots Glenelg had never attempted to untie. Adieu, my dear Tom. Write, write, write. Remember me, &c.

ROKEBY.

On board my caique on the Nile, going up to Cairo,
Monday, December 9th, 1839.

DEAR TOM,

Since we separated at Rome, my time has been most agreeably passed. The continual changes and novelty of the scenes, and the deep interest that I have felt in them, have cheated time, which at our age goes a railroad pace, and recalled those earlier days when everything one saw was new, and when the day was not long enough to see or feel half what one wished to do. I went, as I proposed, straight to Athens, stopping one day at Malta, and having to do quarantine for five days at the Piræus. But for that circumstance, which was accidental, I should have got there in eight days from Rome, and consequently one day before you expected to arrive at Paris. Who would have believed twenty years ago that such a thing would ever have been possible!

Athens is a frightfully ugly new-built town, and resembles the commencement of a speculation watering-place in England, but is rendered delightful by the antiquities, which pass all description, and also by the kindness of Sir Edmund Lyons, our minister there, who is the cream of ambassadors, and a providence to all English who fall in his way. The Damers

joined me there a week after my arrival, and she, as usual, immediately fitted up a room in the inn to look like her own in London or Paris, and collected a very agreeable society round her. Damer and I took a tour for a week in the Morea, by Napoli di Romania, Argos, Mycene, and Corinth, which answered perfectly, and, after a month at Athens, we all started for Constantinople. I had intended to have gone to Egypt first; but the pleasure of travelling with them tempted me to change my plans.

We went to Constantinople by Smyrna, and there, for the first time, saw a Mussulman population; but the European dress is, even there, beating the Oriental costume; and you are not so much struck as you ought to be at finding yourself fairly in Asia. Constantinople exceeds everything that you can conceive in beauty and magnificence of situation. It is made to be mistress of the world, commanding, as it does, the entrance into the Black Sea, and possessing an outlet into the Mediterranean, which would be impregnable if properly fortified, and would be too formidable (if not fatal to the liberty of Europe) if in the hands of an ambitious civilized power like Russia. Austria would immediately go, and our commerce with the East be destroyed, our power in India

shaken, and the Mediterranean become Russian. Therefore, England ought to spare no expense and lose not a moment in forcibly putting an end to the treaty of Unkia-Skelessi, by passing the Dardanelles, and taking part with her fleet in the Bosphorus. This, and our successes in India, would stop the Russians for some time; but, if delayed, we shall shortly hear of their having steamed down 30,000 men to Scutari under pretence of assistance to the Sultan. And then get them out who can!—that is to say, if they push forward and seize the Dardanelles, which they would certainly do.

Constantinople is as mean within as it is magnificent without: the streets narrow and badly paved; the houses of wood, and very shabby; the bazaars dark, and with none of the splendours one had been taught to expect about them; and the men all dressed like shabby-genteel Franks, with fezzes (red caps, with blue tassels) on their heads. I saw the Sultan going to mosque, and, instead of its being the grand, imposing ceremony that one has read of in Lady M. Wortley Montague's and other old books on Turkey, it looks like the entrance of a second-rate Franconi into some country town in France. The Sultan is the image of all the Aberdeen-Gordons, and it is lucky that his age prevents any scandal about Sir Robert and the

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late Sultan's harem. The thing that struck me most there was the extreme freedom of the women. They may, for all I know, be perhaps sometimes *sacked* if found out; but, till they are, they make the best use of their time. They are all of them allowed to go to the bath twice a week, and they wear a dress for that purpose, which entirely covers them; so that it would be impossible for the most lynx-eyed husband to know his wife if he met her; for, besides this concealment of the person, all women wear the same dress on other occasions, particularly in their carriages, which are now the rage among them. They have a covering to the face, called a yash-mack, which is, in fact, two square muslin handkerchiefs—one tied over the mouth and chin, and pinned on the top of the head, exactly as in England you see women wear them who have the toothache, and the other drawn across the forehead, pinned at the temples, and then brought down and crossed over the breast. This latter one ought to be pulled down half way over the nose, so as almost to meet the other; but the pretty and the coquettish (of which there are, alas! some, even in Turkey) pull the one up and the other down, so as to give you a very perfect idea of their features. On the Fridays during the Ramazan, the Mahometan fasts, the Sultan goes to a place in Constantinople called the

Seraskier's palace, and, getting off his horse, stands to be looked at: all the ladies who have carriages make a point of being there, and drive round and round, as if at the Corso in some Italian town. One day that I was there, at least three hundred were assembled, all of them in their best clothes and carriages. After the Sultan went away, I followed about twenty of them into the bazaar. When they got there, they started on foot as if to have some fun, and went to various shops, talking loud and laughing in high spirits with the shopkeepers. These shops are merely shop-boards on each side of the bazaar, on which the goods are displayed, and join one another all the way along it, so that this explosion of female gaiety was quite audible.

I went two or three times to Serapia, and was received with extreme kindness by the Ponsonbys. Ponsonby is heart and hand in favour of the Turks; and though he allows himself to express almost a personal dislike of Mehemet Ali, which, as an ambassador, he ought certainly to avoid doing, yet I believe that his views are correct, and that, if we do not speedily take some decisive steps, it will be too late for us to check Russia. This is our time; for the successes in India have had a great effect upon the whole of Asia, the people there considering it to be virtually a defeat of the plans of the Czar, and he is

hated and feared by all. I suppose you have seen the liberal hatti-sheriff; Solon could not have made wiser laws; but the old Turks shake their heads, and say that it will never be carried into effect. I had a good passage from Constantinople to Alexandria; the only the thing that annoyed me was losing the Damers, who landed at Jaffa on their road to Egypt, Jerusalem, &c.; and I doubt if I shall see them again.

Before I take you on to the Nile, I must first go through what I have seen at Malta, Athens, Nauplin, Argos, Mycene, Corinth, Salamis, Marathon, with their classical associations; Scio, Constantinople, Smyrna, with their massacres and plagues; Rhodes, with its knights (which, by the way, is one of the things best worth seeing); Cyprus, with its wine; and then St. Jean d'Acre, Jaffa, Aboukir, and Alexandria, with Napoleon, old Sir Sydney, Nelson, and Abercromby. These are associations which would well repay one for fatigue and danger; of which, however, we have had none, having made a *couleur* and *eau de rose* voyage of it. Alexandria is fine from the sea; the Pacha's palace stands boldly out on a spit of land between two very fine ports; and the Turkish and Egyptian fleets of forty sail in the harbour speak volumes for the sagacity, enterprise, and talent of the Napoleon of the East. I went to see him,

and had a most interesting hour and a half's conversation with him; this I will relate to you at some future time, as I keep a journal, which perhaps you will have some day to put into *forma edito*. Of his government and policy I will not give you an opinion till I return from Thebes, and have seen the country; *en attendant*, he is a short, vigorous-looking man, appearing about sixty, though seventy, with a clear, healthy, florid complexion, and a handsome white beard, and very like what poor old Jekyll was at that time of life. His eyes, and the expression of the upper part of his face, are quite his, when he was about either to quiz or to make a good joke.

I left Alexandria in a boat which takes you along the Mahmoudie Canal, and is drawn by horses as far as a place called Atfe, where a boat I had hired for my tour was waiting for me. This canal is the wonder of modern times, and the only work which gives one an idea how the great works of the ancients, the Pyramids, &c., were made. It is 48 miles long, 90 feet broad, and 15 to 18 deep, and was scooped out in six weeks by 250,000 serfs, of whom 30,000 died. After having done this (if not dead) they were driven to get in the harvest; then back, and in six months it was entirely finished; where necessary, faced with stones, and opened. It is made very winding, instead of straight; and the

Turkish engineers' reason was religious and logical. Canals are imitations of rivers. God made rivers winding; man cannot do better than God: *ergo*, the canal makes bends of ten miles more than it need do. Whilst complimenting Mehemet Ali on this his greatest work, I asked him why it had not been made straight. He did not confirm the above anecdote, but said that the Turkish engineers were stupid; and that when he came to the country there were only two persons in it who could work; and that now there were 5,000. I told him that we could spare him as many writers from England as he chose to take, and that a little of his treatment would do them good. To this he answered, "No, no, no; I am not sure whether I have not already got too many of my own."

On arriving at Atfe, I embarked on board the boat that had been prepared for me. She is called a duhabiah, is about 55 feet long, with two masts and two immense shoulder-of-mutton sails and a foresail. Aft, are two comfortable cabins, with divans on one side, and surrounded by windows with blinds; and in front of them is a place of about twelve feet square, over which is spread a tent which you can shut in *à volonté*, and keep quite to yourself. The kitchen is midships, and near enough to give you an *avant-goût* of the pre-

destined onions; and in lockers underneath are your provisions and stores for the three months' voyage. My crew consists of an old reis, or captain, and ten Arab boatmen; and my own establishment of two Greek servants and an Arab cook. Giovanni was seized, on board the packet going to Malta, with the same disorder which attacked him at Albano, and I was obliged to send him home; but at Athens I got a very good sort of fellow, with the Arcadian name of Dumiano. He looks like *Jean qui pleure*, and is always in alarm, but otherwise very painstaking. Here I engaged another Greek, who speaks Arabic, and also the cook. My books, &c. are put out in my cabin; my arm-chairs and tables covered with all our English nick-nacks for writing, and I am established for two or three months.

On the first day I stopped at the village of a M. Tibaldi, an English merchant, who has taken 12,000 acres of the Pacha, with six villages on it; this he is improving, and, by treating the people well and getting them to work, rendering very valuable. After riding over his property, we adjourned to an encampment which he had made by the side of the Nile, and close to my boat, and there we had the first essay of Achmet's talents. The first dish was the patriarchal lamb, roasted whole, and, though it looked very like a dead dog, it was excellent.

After dinner, the *almés* of the village came to execute the national dances. Our tent was placed within twenty or thirty yards of the river. It was a large one, and in front of it Tibaldi and myself sat on a divan; on the outside of it, in a semi-circle, sat the villagers in their picturesque white burnouses and turbans; in front, between us and the river, was lighted an immense fire of brush-wood, and men with torches stood round to keep off intruders. The tent was lighted with lamps, and a space between us and the door of it was the stage. On the left in this tent were the musicians—a double sort of reed tabor and a brass tambourine; and outside was the village band, which, between the acts, played an admirable selection of what in England we call rough music.

We are now slowly progressing to Cairo, the wind being sadly contrary. I am living like a Sardanapalian. Achmet improves every hour. Certain lambs' tails, as big as muffins, and heads as small as French rolls, broiled with Egyptian onions, and an *agro dolce* sauce of lemons and fresh sugar-cane, are beyond praise. And now, dear Raikes, write to me at Alexandria.

We are just in sight of Cairo.

Yours ever,

ALVANLEY.

P.S. I find a second cover to fill this up. The Nile is a very magnificent river in point of size, but the water is deep mud-colour, and offends eyes accustomed to the blue Ægean and Neapolitan seas. The banks are high; and, as the country is a dead flat, you see nothing but the villages which happen to be on the banks. They are of mud, and look either like bee-hives, sugar-houses, or pig-styes. The country, however, is beyond belief fertile, bearing three and four crops a-year, and being always in fruit or flower. The date-trees are beautiful. Wild birds are in millions; pelicans and the graubal white dwarf crane are the most seen, and make an agreeable contrast. The climate is delicious; the air quite balmy; and every hour as I go south I more completely cheat the winter. The Nile water, when filtered, is excellent; and there are bottles here, which are made of porous earth, called *gurgoulets*, and that almost ice it by evaporation. Again adieu, till my return from Thebes, for which place I shall start about the 16th.

Rome, January 18th, 1840.

MY DEAR TOM,

Your two letters have been a benediction, and have not found me ungrateful, though appearances are sadly against me; the melancholy fact

being, that I am *tellement morfondu* in this dullest of holes, that I have not energy enough left for anything. We should have expired of *ennui* had it not been for the presence of the Duc de Bordeaux (which disunited society as much as the Guelphs and Ghibelines of old), and now we have lost him! The said Prince is fat, fair, but not forty; he might have passed for the prototype of Pickwick's fat boy, did he go to sleep; but he is, on the contrary, *très eveillé*, with a laughing eye, agreeable smile, and singularly good manners. His figure threatens the *Dix-huit*, but he walks and rides with dignity, and, preceded by halberdiers, down St. Peter's on Christmas Day, would not have made Louis the Fourteenth ashamed of him! He was here six weeks, and I have not heard of one foolish thing said or done by him. Latour Maubourg, with or without orders, tried to stifle him, and have him ejected. The Pope took his cue from Austria, and received him in demi-royalty—details I will spare you, as I understand them not. Maubourg then quarrels with Russia and Bavaria, because they had been present at parties given in his honour. The consequence is, Master Spauer no longer walks on Pincio with Master Maubourg, though, the Bavarian *bonne* remarked to the Parisian, they were too young to talk politics! And Madame Fay, wife of the second *secrétaire*

d'ambassade has forbidden her baby of three months to air with a little Egglufstein, a terrible Carlist of one year old!

I and all the English were presented without distinction of party; and I attend Mesdames de Gontaud et de Rohan's tea-table, and Madame de Menou's alternately, and, as a *juste milieu*, frequent Lady Keith. Madame de Menou has made herself most absurd by her violence. Flahault dines out with all of us Bulls, who are obliged to give innumerable spreads to keep body and soul together, and, by meeting, assure ourselves of our existence, which, without some such effort, we are in danger of forgetting. Lady Coventry is our best resource. The fact seems very clear that Louis Philippe would not have been sorry to see the Duc de Bordeaux sent away; but he has failed, and disavows his minister. Naples sent two generals to receive him at the frontier, and bombarded Capua for the hundredth time, to enable the poor Prince to see practised, *en grand*, the manœuvres he is taught in theory by M. de Lovemaria, who is charged with that branch of his education. The old Duchesse de Fleury and some Russian ladies got up some vaudevilles for him, being the first French dramas he ever saw. His enjoyment was most natural, and really gave everybody else pleasure. He does not dance,

which I suppose is from some *coquetterie* about his figure; and I know not what he will do at Naples, where monarch and people are all bitten by a tarantula. I believe his innocence is as well protected as the Grand Duke's, and indeed everybody else's in this infernal place.

Hating it so much, you will wonder why I stay: the fact is, my sister likes it, and I intend going to Spain in March; and, though it is cold and disagreeable here, a winter journey is intolerable, and the extraordinary rains have made the sea the only level road. I shall quit Rome, however, soon after the Carnival, and steam to Leghorn, visit the Fazakerleys at Nice, and then Toulon; then embark at Marseilles for Spain; visit the Littoral and Grenada; and from Gibraltar return by Seville and Madrid, *et puis* Lisbon; and then Bordeaux; and, whenever it may please Heaven, arrive at Paris. I should think I may perform all this in three months.

Caernarvon writes me that the Ministers have been received with all but royal honours at Paris, which must have surprised them pretty nearly as much as it does me. We lose the Bruces, who return to Nice; I am most sorry; she* is a most delightful person—*distinguée sous tous les rapports*. The De Mauleys and old Bess-

* The present Marchioness of Ailesbury.

borough live under me, and illustrious Conroy above; said bone of contention has a son dying.

Flahault had a long letter yesterday from the Vicomtesse de Noailles, and trusts her health is mending. When you see her, lay me at her feet, and at the Princess Schomberg's also. Bathyany's sister, Madame de Lutherotte, is here, and one of my greatest favourites. We have also a Comtesse Dietrichstein, sister to a beautiful Princess Schwartzenberg; George Caroli's brother and family, &c. So much for Rome and its inhabitants, which will prove to you I did right not to write sooner; nor should I now, except to beg you will have the charity to devote a few moments *à m'égayer*.

Remember me most kindly to Harriet, and believe me,

Ever yours most truly,

ROKEBY.

To T. Raikes, Esq..
à Paris.

Rome, March 2nd, 1840.

MY DEAR TOM,

I trust virtue is its own reward—an old saw. I have seen some reason to doubt it in my progress through this sublunary world; but if it does not hold good in our intercourse, God help you!

I cannot render you the *réciproque* for your most laudable exertions in my behalf. I can only say that you have enabled me to make some head against Elahault and Sneyd, who are nearly the only mentally, or rather Europeanly, alive in this City of the Dead.

The town is just now in the last galvanic throes of the Carnival. Noise, flour, and plaster are the substitutes for the old Roman wit (I am convinced falsely imputed to them in days of yore), and real *confetti* are as much exploded as the caustic pungency of Pasquin. The same, however, would be animating enough were it not for a cold, black frost, which nips gaiety in the bud; and which, succeeding an unnatural winter, has put one-third of society to bed. I have had slight returns of my ague, and have not, in consequence, entered into the festivities, having been confined to the house ten days; and as my fire and central position have ensured me plenty of visitors, I think they have not been the dullest I have spent at Rome. I understand the Prince of Syracuse and the Duke of Lucca are among the most active *balistæ* in the missile warfare. It is reported that fresh eggs have been in some cases substituted for those filled with flour; *reste a savoir* if to-morrow the eggs may continue fresh. The dandy Carlist balcony positively heaped whole sacks of flour on Lady

Antrim and Mrs. Houston, who were by some *embarras* detained half-an-hour under it. The ladies deprecated their cereal gallantry by throwing flowers; but the bearded *élégants*, thinking solid pudding better than empty praise, sent them home up to their chins in the unprepared staff of life. Syracuse and Co. made divers irruptions, which were returned next day by the Carlists, who nearly throttled Ludolph in the fray. Hats, dominoes, and masks were woefully tattered. The Barbere broke away unexpectedly, pushed down above a dozen people—three are already dead. The next day, one horse, less ambitious than the rest, made a bolt for his domicile, and injured many more.

Yesterday a lamplighter in the Jesuits' church fell off his ladder and killed two women, beside himself. Such have been the incidents of the Carnival. My letter rivals the casualty columns in *Galignani*. I had a letter from Matuscewic yesterday. He is nearly dead of *ennui* at Stockholm, which he describes as perfectly destitute of resource. Bernadotte is in the same unhandsome fix as Louis Philippe: a triumphant Opposition, a ministerial crisis—all the *agrémens* of the representation system. The Louis Philippe visages here are terribly elongated. We hear from Vienna that Prince Metternich says the Duc de Bordeaux might write a new Silvio Pellico after his

escape from Austrian prisons. A pretty indiscreet admission. He was escorted by all the Carlists, the first post from hence, who must have rolled themselves in the mud *dévoument;* they returned *tellement eclaboussés.* Menon is departed for Greece and Constantinople. To-night there is a great ball in the capital for the affair of the cholera; the ball is so fine I regret I cannot go. It has begun to rain, which, if it continues, will be a sad thing for the *mocoletti* to-morrow, when everybody walks with his candle to light the Carnival out; and the great fun is to put each others candles out. The illumination is general, and the masks in the street carry flappers and extinguishers on long bamboos, to put out the lights in the balconies and windows. The effect is most brilliant, and the gaiety contagious.

I meant to depart on the 10th to Genoa, and then to Nice, where I shall stay a week; but there is some derangement in the service, and the good packet will not sail till the 20th. If the weather should not improve, I am in no hurry; but having countermanded Galignani, my only comfort, I shall probably take an earlier opportunity if it should offer.

I shall be very glad to be under weigh again. Should the spirit move you charitably in my favor, write to Nice. If not, let me find a letter *poste restante,* where I shall embark for Barce-

lona. If you see Lady William Paulet, tell her I will write soon. Congratulate Princess Schoenberg on her succession, and say how sincerely glad I am at the improvement in her health.

Excuse my Roman dulness, &c.

Adieu,

ROKEBY.

Cairo, Sunday, March 8th, 1840.

DEAR RAIKES,

After a most interesting and prosperous journey to the Second Cataract on the Nile, I returned here, and had the greatest pleasure in finding three letters from you. I had been quite alone, at least, as far as society went, for so long, and had been so entirely beyond the reach of letters, news, and newspapers, that I gobbled down everything of the sort that came in my way with an avidity that almost gave me an indigestion; and indeed I had *de quoi*, for I found no less than thirty letters waiting for me.

I am delighted to hear that Montrond is so well; he is one of the persons whom I most regret seeing so little of, as during our long acquaintance he has been uniformly kind to me, and as his society is, without any exception, the most agreeable of any that I ever met with. Pray remember me again and again to him.

I believe that I gave you an account of myself as far as this place. I started from hence the 18th of December, and proceeding by Thebes, went up to a place called Wadoz Halbiz, close to the Second Cataract, reserving the sight of the greater part of the antiquities for my return; as it is, of course, better to stop from day to day when the current is in your favour, than to risk doing so when the wind is favourable to take you up again. Nothing can be more interesting, or more amusing, than the continual change of scene in a journey like this; for, of all the countries I have visited, Egypt is the one whose type is most different from what one has seen besides. The first cataract is at a place called Assouan, and after passing it you get into Nubia. Think of a lazy old dog like myself finding himself in Ethiopia, and within the tropics. But the journey is calculated for lazy men. An excellent boat, fitted up as you like, plenty of good living, books which you wish to read or re-read, and which you never would have had the courage to attack, if you had not forced yourself to do so, by taking no others with you; and, above all things, the most delicious climate that can be possibly imagined. In addition to this, something curious to be seen every two or three days, and sometimes the most magnificent and extraordinary remains of antiquity that the mind

of man can imagine. I shall not attempt to give you a description of what I saw; but I think that the temple and colosses at Ebsambul, and the temple of Karnac, exceed anything in Greece and Italy.

These little people are like balls of India-rubber covered with fine parchment, and are always cool and sweet, excepting when they perfume themselves. I said above, that I would not bore you by descriptions; but I must tell you that conviviality was carried to as great lengths in ancient Egypt as it was in more modern days in Hamilton Place, Park Place, or Grosvenor Square; for all sorts of scenes of social life are found painted in the tombs of the Egyptians; and amongst others is a great feast, at which, by the way, a dandy arrives late, in his curricle. The various epochs of it are given—the company arriving, music, and some sort of stimulants before dinner; the dinner copious, the dessert with quantities of wine and flowers, the supper with apparently broiled bones to eat, the dancing girls to enliven, and, last of all, the guests sick, and carried home drunk. Amongst the two latter cases are found (*proh pudor!*) some young and pretty women.

On my return to Thebes I found that the Damers had renounced their intention of coming up the river, and that I should not see them. This

place is very amusing; it is strictly oriental; and yet, every now and then, from the influx of persons going to and from India, you occasionally sit down to dinner at the *table d'hôte* with Irish stew and boiled beef before you, and ladies and gentlemen, to the amount of twenty or thirty, talking English, as if you were at Cheltenham.

I went the other day with a large party of them to the Pyramids, and could not help remembering Forbin's remark on the English spencers and parasols he met at Thebes. By the way, going up the Pyramids, for any one less active than a cat or an Arab, is no joke; and coming down worse. When up, I would have willingly given all my Hammersley notes to be down again. Of society there is little here. A good-humoured little fat Doctor Abbott is the first person the English get introduced to; he is extremely obliging and useful, but disappointments of some sort have soured his natural disposition, and he is at war with the Consul and authorities. He is a collector of mummies, and a great anti-contagionist, and tells you (after he has shaken hands with you) that he has just come from visiting a plague patient. This makes you jump the first time, and run to wash your hands; but in a day or two you get used to it, and the plague, if not very violent, is no more thought of here than any other disorder.

I have taken a house here for a year, as I intend coming back after my Syrian tour, and going up the Nile as far as Sennaar and Dongola. I am determined to kill a hippopotamus. My house, for which I pay 300 piastres a month (three pounds) is a palace. To get to it, you pass through a sort of mud wall, which has the pretension of being a gate, through two or three subterranean passages, which look like common sewers, emerge into a tidy garden, and find an excellent house. It is thus that the Christians try to hide their riches from the eyes of the greedy Turks. It is made for coolness, the rooms large, and in the anteroom a sort of open roof, which they call a mullquaf. This is turned towards the north, and catches the wind, and with it all the dust, and, worse, orange-peel and paper, that the little whirlwinds of this country pick up. It is in this shape, Λ, and would be the despair of an English housemaid. As the house has been constantly let to English, it is visited by all sorts of people, and sometimes one gets a little puzzled what to do with them.

As I was sitting alone after dinner yesterday, having given my dragoman leave to go out, and no one speaking Arabic being at home, the door opened, and in walked two very handsome women, Arabs—tall, and with the peculiarly beautiful shaped forms and figures

for which they are famous. They sat down, and, after wine, coffee, and a pipe that I offered them, they began talking to me in Arabic. As I had soon exhausted my little stock of that language, we came to a dead-lock; nor could I by any means elicit who had sent them. They were, however, very amiable and very quiet; for, as it was the night, I could not send them away, and was, therefore, obliged to pass the evening with them, and leave them to sleep on the divan when I went to bed. This they did without fuss or trouble. I locked them into the drawing-room; in the morning opened the door, gave them backshish, and away they went, without my having the least notion who they were.

This country is cheapness itself, as far as living goes. I was ten weeks on the Nile, had five persons besides myself to feed, constantly guides, &c. eating, constantly giving to eat to my crew; and the expense of the mere eating was 21*l.* All, however, that comes from Europe is bad and dear.

On Saturday next I start for Syria. Fancy your old friend in a pair of immense Turkish pantaloons, with a pair of yellow boots drawn over them, a handsome silk variegated sash round his waist, with a dagger stuck in it, a European *toile écrue* jacket, and a very large hat (an old acquaintance of yours) covered with white calico, perched

on the top of a dromedary at the head of a caravan of ten camels—such will be the case on that day. I go to Sinai, Petra, and Jerusalem, thence to Damascus and Palmyra, by a curious country called the Houran, which is full of old Roman towns. In the hot months I shall make my Castellamare at Mount Libanus, and in September return here, on my way into the centre of Africa.

Adieu, then, dear Raikes. Remember me to your daughter. ALVANLEY.*

P.S.—I say nothing about the Pacha, as I know nothing; he is here, as the plague is at Alexandria. If the Vicomtesse de Noailles is not in better health, I recommend her most strongly to pass next winter on the Nile. I am intimately convinced that it is the most certain way to invigorate and restore health, and it is done with perfect ease. Direct to me, care of Messrs. Briggs, Alexandria. On second thoughts, it is foolish to give advice without pointing out how it may be followed. In writing to the Consul, or a banker at Alexandria, a boat and dragoman and Arab cook should be ordered to be at Atfe, the place on the Nile where you embark from Alexandria, on the 1st of November. From Marseilles to Malta in six days, and then in four to Alexandria; from thence a track boat taking

* The late Lord Alvanley.

you to Atfe in a day; from thence to Cairo, according to the wind, in five days. At Cairo are two very good hotels, Waghorn and Hill. From Cairo to Thebes and the Cataracts and back, is about ten weeks; but of course you go slower if you choose. There is something to interest almost every day, and everything close to the river, so that an invalid sees it without trouble, and, by carrying a portmanteau and donkey saddle, without any fatigue.

The weather is perfectly delicious,—an unclouded sky during the whole time, neither cold nor heat; the glass varying between 12° and 17° of Réaumur, and no damp. The boats are excellent, and you may take one or two, according to numbers. I say an Arab cook, because a French one would probably give trouble, and be eternally complaining of the exiguity of his kitchen and *batterie*, and would not like sleeping on deck. Everything should be brought from Cairo in canteens. Beds, wine, and some English preserved meats are essential.

Madrid, June 14, 1840.

MY DEAR TOM,

Aston's courier departed last night. God knows how he is to get to France, as a rascal called Balmaceda has put himself *à cheval* on the

Burgos road, whence all communication is suspended by diligence. I find myself in consequence in a *cul de sac*. I was going yesterday to secure places in the dilly for Valencia, when I heard that Foscadel had approached so near as to disturb the communication with that place. Last week I came from Seville, and only missed a band of *factiosos* by three days, at Valdepeñas, who levied contributions on the adjacent villages, and might perhaps have kidnapped me, had I passed on the Tuesday instead of the Monday. So much for the successes of the Christinos, and the boasted tranquillity of the country. It is true that Cabrera has lost his principal fortresses; but he has sent his myrmidons *partout*, and the whole affair appears beginning again. Balmaceda shod the alcalde of a village the other day with red hot horse shoes, feet and hands. You may conjecture what fate is reserved for Lieut-Gen. Sir De Lacy Evans, if he falls into his hands. He departed last night on horseback for Saragoza, meaning to try and make his way through the mountains afterwards.

The news yesterday was that Espartero had detached a column that was within two hours of Balmaceda, who has 3,000 men. If he is beaten, he must fall back in the direction of Leon. Nothing can be less improbable than his falling in with Evans. I met Evans two

days at dinner, at Aston's, without finding out who he was, and he proposed to me to accompany him. Conceive my going about *à quatre pattes*, like a cat shod with walnut-shells, for keeping such company—I, who have been a Carlist all my life; and am however less so since they interrupt my movements, and since I have heard more of Ferdinand's government and Don Carlos' character. I declined accompanying him; because my servant has picked up an Andalusian horse I cannot ride. I need not say I should not have availed myself of his society (had I accepted at the time), when I found out his very exceptionable character, as far as popularity with Carlists goes. I am in consequence advised to wait the chapter of accidents, as I am unwilling to *rebrousser chemin* to Cadiz in the intense heat we have here now, which is the chief reason I am writing at this moment, for I am literally dead with sight-seeing!

I found a letter from you here, which, as usual, amused me very much. You are the very pink of correspondents; and I owe you no end of gratitude for your kindness in never failing to answer the whip. I have been very sorry to hear since that poor Cordova died of a cancer in his stomach. The detention here is doubly irksome, for I have business in England, or else I would go and look for some cool spot in

Switzerland, to repose in during the summer. I have worked so hard the last seven weeks, I am almost tired. I have visited Barcelona, Saragoza, Valencia, Alicant, Carthagena, Almeria, and Malaga. It is true the steam takes one by night, but all day one runs about in a broiling sun to see the sights, and Barcelona is the only place where there is a vehicle on springs to be hired. At Valencia you get a cart without a head. At Malaga I took horses, and rode to Grenada (two days) the first 14 hours on horseback. I was much pleased with the Alhambra, and as much disappointed by the scenery of the Sierra Nevada, which is the least picturesque chain of its elevation I have ever seen. I returned by Antiguerra, a very curious old Moorish town, where the innkeeper told me I should be infallibly robbed if I went to Ronda. I returned to Malaga, and awaited the great convoy for Ronda fair: two days took us to that most extraordinary spot; and the fair was a perfect Wouvermans. I saw twelve bulls killed, and the best matador in Spain. It is a most disgusting sight, and I wished to proceed the next day to Gibraltar, when my muleteer told me I must pay the fee-simple of the animals if I proceeded till the next day. I waited, and every road from Ronda was covered by the whole population, returning home on every sort of animal, and no man without a mus-

ket; very well dressed women on the best sort of chair (on their donkeys and mules) I ever saw; and all the population turning out of numerous towns and villages to greet their friends after so perilous an enterprise.

Two days brought us to Gibraltar, through every sort of vegetation, and, to speak scientifically, the *flora* of this descent of about 4,000 feet, in the month of May, beat anything I ever could have imagined. I arrived in time at Gibraltar to witness Queen Victoria's birthday celebrated. The garrison is splendid, and Woodford gave a very fine dinner. The fortress is a wonderful lion, well deserving its reputation. I steamed to Cadiz; ditto to Seville, where the cathedral and pictures detained me three days; and four days and a half of very considerable *ennui* in the diligence brought me here.

Cordova's old mosque, and the site of the battles of Bazem and Arcama, are the only interesting bits for the Despenas Perro. The Sierra Morena is very commonplace. You may suppose the difficulty of getting away has made me repent a little having adventured so far, but the *Musée* contains more *chef d'œuvres* than all the galleries in Italy put together; and the Escurial, which I visited yesterday, is worthy of being called the eighth wonder of the world. Aston is most kind and hospitable; is deliciously

housed, and has a very good *chef*, and excellent wine. It is difficult to say how the cook performs so well in a country where there is no fish, and one might say no flesh, for there is hardly any that a northern butcher would think fit to kill. On my journey from Seville, I saw nothing served but birds and rabbits. I have looked in vain to see the improvements Clarendon vapoured about, and have seen no new buildings, except at Barcelona, and Antiguerra, and here. The Queens went off Thursday to Barcelona, the real motive being Munoz's health, whose nerves require to *retrempés*. I saw the little Queen and sister: a most seedy, dowdy pair of infantas they are! She is to be of age in two years, which makes a still greater burlesque of monarchy.

Adieu, *mon cher*. I shall leave this open till I return from Toledo.

June 19.

I have made up my mind to postpone going to Valencia the 27th. Balmaceda has licked the troops; the Queens were attacked, but their convoy took 1,400 prisoners. Thermometer in the shade is 107 Fahrenheit. I have been at Toledo in all this heat. Adieu.

ROKEBY.

In Quarantine at Smyrna,
June 28th, 1840.

DEAR RAIKES,

Since I wrote to you from Cairo I have been almost continually on dromedary or horse back; have visited Sinai, Petra, Jerusalem, the country beyond Jordan, Gherah and Ammon, Carmel, Nazareth, Jabarra, and a good deal of Syria. I found myself for this tour in company with a man of the name of St. Leger, a son of Anthony St. Leger, who was about Queen Caroline, and nephew of Jack St. Leger, a favourite of the poor Duke of York. He was a great catch for me, being gentlemanlike, accomplished, and accommodating, so that we agreed admirably. I carried out my original plan, with the exception of Damascus and Palmyra, which I was prevented seeing on account of the plague; and of remaining for the summer in Libanus, which I could not do in consequence of the insurrection which is raging through the whole of the country against Mehemet Ali.

During the whole of the journey I enjoyed excellent health and spirits, and I think that the love of rambling gains ground with me every day. The life in a tent is so wholesome and independent; the absence of the numerous subjects of annoyance which torment one when-

ever the post can reach makes it void of care; and the wonderful remains of art, and the variety of natural beauties that one meets with, are continual sources of amusement and interest. In addition to this, it gives one the power of spending comparatively little money, and having everything that is to be needed for that little; a consummation that I have always been seeking but have never till now found.

The topics which most occupy us here are the insurrection in Libanus and the affair of the Jews at Damascus, and, as it may perhaps interest you to hear of them, I will give you the heads of both. The Libanus and Anti-Libanus had been from time immemorial virtually independent of the Turks; their inhabitants, consisting of Latin, Greek, and Maronite Christians, and Druses, whose form of religion is idolatrous, were under the command of the Emir Beschir, an hereditary prince of the country; and, though they paid a tribute to the Sultan, they were free from other exactions, such as military service, and were governed by their own laws and customs. Mehemet Ali, however, had contrived to reduce them and bring them under his terrible domination, and by degrees to subject them to the same system of oppression with which he has ground down Egypt and Syria to the earth. In order to effect this he began by exciting quarrels between

the Christians and Druses; engaged the former to disarm the latter, and then contrived by degrees to do so to themselves. As soon as he had done this he forcibly seized 10,000 Druses as soldiers, and introduced his own governors and taxation through the whole of the mountains. Last year, however, when Ibrahim Pacha was carrying on his campaign against the Turks on the frontier, symptoms of insurrection were discovered amongst the Druses and the inhabitants of Damascus; and in order to keep them down he was obliged to arm the Christians of the Libanus. This he did with 16,000 muskets, giving them at the same time his most solemn promise, in the name of his father, that these arms should be left them in perpetuity; that the Egyptian system should be given up, and the country governed according to its ancient laws. In consequence of this the Christians fully observed their part of the engagement, and kept down the Druses and Damascenes, and put down a formidable insurrection in the Houraon.

If you will take the trouble to look at the map of Syria you will see that the tranquillity of the Libanus on the west, and the Houraon on the east, of Syria, is absolutely necessary to be insured, by a General making a campaign on the frontier, in order to keep his rear, and in case

of retreat his flanks, open and secure. This important service rendered, and the Turks conquered, the mountaineers hoped to reap the fruit of their co-operation; but not at all; Ibrahim flew from his bargain, kept on the governors and Egytian system, imposed fresh *corvées* on the country, and at last, about a month ago, demanded the restoration of the 16,000 stand of arms, the whole of the taxes for five years in advance, and 1,800*l.* for the army. At this the whole mountain rose.

Unaccountably unwilling to live under such a benevolent system of government, and under what is called in Europe the regenerating sway of the Pacha, the mountaineers of the Libanus rose. The first thing they did was to make up all past disputes with the Druses, and render the insurrection general,—in this they succeeded; the next was to surround Saida, in which Suleiman Pacha was living, and Beirout, the chief seaport on the coast, in order to disarm the garrisons.

Things were in this state when I entered the mountains on my way to Beirout, having, as I told you, been prevented going into Damascus in consequence of the plague there, and forced to go as quick as I could to Beirout, in order to refit; my whole wardrobe having been stolen out of my tent one night whilst I was asleep, and I being reduced to what I had on my back. When

I got into the mountains, the insurrection had just begun, and I was recommended not to go on, as it was possible that there might be some *mauvais sujets* amongst the insurgents, who might take a fancy to my arms or baggage. Anxious, however, to get on, I persevered; but after I had been in the mountain about half an hour I was surrounded by a crowd of peasants, who insisted on pillaging my Arab cook. The first notice I had of this was hearing him roar out in his bad Italian, "*Io sarete il primo ammazzato;*" on this I determined to retrograde.

Before going further I should tell you that the government of Mehemet Ali is the most tyrannical and oppressive that ever existed. From the Second Cataract on the Nile to the frontiers of Syria, the wretched people are ground to the earth. You never see in a village a young man, the whole having been swallowed up by the army. You never go into a village but you are stunned with the complaints, and shocked at the misery, of the inhabitants, and the prayer of them, is universally that some Christian power would take possession of this country, and relieve them from the horrid tyranny under which they are groaning. The land pays eighty per cent of its products to the Pacha; if a village has been rated at two hundred male peasants for the capitation, and only forty remain in consequence of

the others having been carried off by the conscription, the forty pay the same taxes as the two hundred did; and, after selling every thing that they possess, and in some cases their children, to do what their means and power quite fail in, they are inevitably put to the torture; and if they hide themselves, their wives are submitted to it, in order to make them discover where they are. In addition to all this, they are bound to feed all the troops when on a march, and to transport stores, &c., and all the baggage and effects of public servants at any time of the year, and for nothing. This is not the least charged, but perfectly and strictly true.

[A leaf of the original of this letter is missing.]

to some village where I could find a sheik, and, as I was well armed, and the peasants had only sticks, I effected this manœuvre with success, and arrived at a place under the orders of a jolly old sheik, who immediately sent my persecutors to the right about; and, notwithstanding a very strict quarantine against persons coming from Damascus, gave me a house in the heart of it. Here I remained two days, taking advantage of its being near Baalbec to see that place, and then went across the mountain to Beirout. On my way there I met numbers of mountaineers,

who were on their road to join their comrades, who were investing the town, and I entered it through their posts. They were uniformly civil, and only anxious that the justice of their cause should be known in Europe. They had sent a firm letter through the Emir to Mehemet Ali, declining to submit to his government without a guarantee from England or France of their rights; and when I left Beirout, which I did four days after with the Francis Egertons and St. Leger, it was understood that they meant to attack the town that night; and if they take it, and are supported by Turkey, they will settle the Syrian question without European interruption.

The question of the Jews at Damascus is as follows: In the month of February an old Capuchin of the name of Tomaso, who had passed a long life in doing good, was missing, together with his servant, from his convent; his room was examined, and it was found that nothing had been taken from him, and that his intention had been to return at night, as his supper was prepared. M. de Ralli, the French consul, under whose protection he was, caused an active search to be made after him, and in a day or two some persons came forward and stated that they had seen him on the day in question in the Jews' quarter. The enquiries continued, and at last, on the outside of a barber's shop, was found an *affiche* in his

handwriting, announcing a sale of some effects for a charitable purpose. The barber, on being questioned as to how it came there, said that the father must have put it there himself the day before. As this was found to be impossible from its position—much out of the reach of the old man, the barber was arrested, and first taken to the consul there. He would say nothing, and having then been, as was necessary, taken before the Turkish authorities, was bastinadoed, and after two hundred blows given at different times, and at last on a promise of his life being spared, he deposed that several of the principal Jews had committed the murder, both of the father and the servant, in order to get his blood to mix with the Passover bread. His confession having got wind, three of the accused fled to Bagdad, but the remainder of the persons named were arrested. On the torture being applied, as by the Turkish law it always is in like cases, they all, with the exception of one person, confessed the crime and its particulars. Now these confessions, extorted by the bastinado, would be anything but convincing; but the criminals were kept separate, and the confessions of the three principals being compared, were found exactly to tally.

The manner in which the father was induced to come to the house to vaccinate a

child, the streets through which he was led, the spots on the house where the horrid act was committed, the persons who did it, and the different parts that they each performed, were precisely the same in each confession. The spot where the remains were hid was also pointed out by all of them, and the result was, that no rational doubt could exist but that the crime had been committed by them. During the whole time M. de Ralli behaved with the greatest forbearance, deprecating as much as he could the use of the torture, but unable to do more than remonstrate, as he could not interfere with the course of justice in use in the country.

In this state of affairs, the Austrian consul, M. Merluto, who had till then approved of all that was done, is supposed to have been bribed, for he suddenly turned short round, recalled all that he had said, and wrote the letter that you have seen in the French papers. The prisoners are now quite well, and under good treatment; the tortures inflicted were the bastinado, and nothing else, and one only of them died under it.

This is the story as it now stands. I have seen people who have seen the prisoners, and followed up the course of the affair, and who, at first totally disbelieving the accusation (as I myself did at first), have ended, as I have, by unwillingly believing it. It appears that these men belong

to some sect by whom the Talmud and certain oral traditions, supposed to have been handed down from rabbi to rabbi, are held in higher respect than the laws of Moses. The Talmud itself permits many things that we are not aware of, and that enlightened laws repudiate; but which these fanatics adopt and mix up with the oral traditions above-mentioned, and act on them as on rules of faith. Amongst these is the horrid rite of mixing Christian blood with the Passover bread on certain great occasions.

Having now told you all that I can muster up to interest you, I must wish you good-bye, first putting you *au fait* as to my movements. From hence I go to Constantinople, where I pass six weeks, that is to say, at Therapia; from thence to Broussa, and through the north of Asia Minor back to this place; then to Egypt, up the Nile to Dongola and Cordovan; in the spring to Rhodes, where I shall take a house and be happy to see you; and from Rhodes I shall make excursions into some parts of Asia Minor, Coramaria, &c. After that, if I live so long, I shall form other plans. Give my best regards to your daughter and to the Gramonts. Write to me at Constantinople, care of consul. A thousand good wishes.

From yours,

ALVANLEY.

P.S. I am in quarantine with a French radical

çi-devant Carlist, M. de Sazenet, a mad French painter, and an American missionary. We do admirably together—*quel Macedoine!*

I send you the money for *Galignani.*

Thos. Raikes, Esq.
Paris.

Paris, 29th July, 1840.

My Lord Duke,

It is little more than a week ago that I received a letter from Alvanley at Smyrna, giving me full information of the insurrection at Libanus, and the wretched state of those provinces under the grinding sway of the Pacha. Montrond saw this letter, and gave a cursory idea of its contents to M. Thiers and to the King.

On Saturday we received the astounding intelligence of Lord Palmerston's treaty with the four Powers to settle the Eastern question. Upon this head I need only say that it has been felt here more seriously than an open declaration of war.

Yesterday I was surprised to learn that the Government here is convinced that Alvanley's letter has been the groundwork of this event; and that either what he wrote to me, or to another correspondent in England, M. Thiers declares was read at the Cabinet Council in London, previous to the signing of the treaty. Now, the letter to me has never been sent to London, and

I have shown it them to prove that nothing in its contents could lead to such a result.

An article appeared yesterday in the *Constitutionnel*, containing a very correct and dispassionate recital of what had passed—so correct, indeed, that Comte Pozzo (the nephew) told me if I had heard all the conferences I could not be more correctly informed. Most of the foreign ambassadors here seem to me annoyed by the conduct of the British Cabinet. It is, indeed, much to be regretted that two countries like England and France, approaching each other so intimately by treaties of commerce, railroads, and the disparition of national prejudices, should all at once be separated, in a manner so unsatisfactory to the British name.

I hear that M. Thiers says he will support the Pacha; and it is a fact that he has ordered a levy of 200,000 men, which, during the present absence of the Chambers, he can do upon his own authority.

I should mention, *par parenthèse*, that Alvanley's letter contains convincing proofs that Father Tomaso was murdered by the Jews. Montrond tells me that both the King and M. Thiers allow that it had all along been their own firm conviction.

July 31st, 1840.

As I mentioned the first effect of the London news here, I may now add, that M. Thiers *commence à mettre de l'eau dans son vin.*

The term insolence is still applied to the conduct of Lord Palmerston; and advantage will be taken of this event to place the army on a more proper footing than at present. The *cadres* of the army will be increased to 500,000 men; but war is only to ensue if forced upon France. One of the deputies said to me, "War is a dreadful alternative, and both Austria and Prussia are anxious to avoid it." Strong representations are made to those Powers; means may be found of softening the Pacha, &c. He then added, "In case of war, we can always abandon Algiers; and the best thing, too, that can be done for France." The King, I believe, is seriously alarmed. The Duke of Orleans is anxious for war, and they seem to think it inevitable at the Embassy, although Lord Granville's arrival to-day may clear the horizon.

I find that the treaty was signed on the 15th, dated the 17th, known here the 21st, but not made public till the 24th. I only trust that the feeling the Government has excited may not push them beyond their mark.

It is fortunate that the Chamber of Deputies is not sitting, as much intemperate discussion has thus been avoided.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

T. RAIKES.

London, August 3rd, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,

I received and was much obliged to you for your very interesting letter.

I heard of Alvanley's opinion being known and circulated here, and likewise that of several other travellers in the East, on both sides of the question. I don't know that any of these opinions caused the decision of this Government. Indeed, to say the truth, I don't think that the decision upon the question itself is of so much importance as the form in which the decision was taken and made known, the offence which the adoption of that form has given, the irritation which has been the consequence, and the lamentable measures which have been adopted since at Paris. The King is a very able man; but I am very apprehensive that he will not be able to prevent a violent course, if he should appear to have the advantage of a state of preparation, which his adversaries will not have. The peace of the world is the most important

interest to His Majesty, and to every well-feeling person. Care must be taken not to allow the direction of affairs to fall into the hands of others not equally interested with His Majesty in maintaining it, in consequence of their being better prepared than others to disturb it.

August 8th.

Since I wrote to you last, a terrible event has taken place. I mean the expedition of Louis Napoleon to Boulogne. Those desirous of fomenting the existing differences and jealousies between the countries will avail themselves of this event to promote their objects. We have a report here—which I learn has already gone to France—that both Lord Melbourne and Lord Palmerston had recently received Napoleon, each of them, at an audience. This may be true. But, if I can answer for anything where I can know nothing, I should say that those Ministers had never heard of his intentions.

Believe me,

Ever yours, most faithfully,

WELLINGTON.

T. Raikes, Esq.
Paris.

Paris, 10th August.

My Lord Duke,

I am able to relieve your Grace's anxiety as to the impression here of our Cabinet being concerned in this event. An attempt was made by the ill-disposed part of the press to turn it to our detriment, but it was not taken up. Louis Philippe is frightened, and the affair will be brought before the Peers. On the other hand, Lord Palmerston's candid *exposé* in the House of Commons has done much good; and everything at present wears a more pacific aspect. There is, however, apprehension that this Government is more seriously bound to the Pacha than is publicly known; and, indeed, how otherwise account for the late *emportement* on this side, which savours more of discontented projects, than the slight offence of a breach of etiquette?

M. Guizot will have met, I think, with a cool reception at Eu. The King said to the Sardinian minister, M. de Brignuoli, "This is what we get by employing professors and philosophers!" He could not, like his minister, say "*doctrinaires*," as he had so often had recourse to them before. Meantime, the maritime preparations are increasing with vigour at the ports.

Lord Hertford and Croker are arrived here. I am shocked to see the great alteration in Lord Hertford's health.

In the sincere hope that these two nations, whose dearest interests must alike be compromised by war, may remain at peace,

I have the honour to be, &c.

T. RAIKES.

London, August 12th, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am very happy to learn that you think the minds of men are becoming calmer and more pacific in France than they were.

There was error in the appearance and name of secret treaty given to the transactions with the Northern Powers. In truth, the secret was only in appearance. The name was not true.

I believe that there is a difference of opinion in the two Cabinets in relation to the settlement between the Sultan and his vassal. And, when the public are called into cabinet council, it is very difficult to settle any difference of opinion, particularly in these days of national vanity and boasting. Otherwise, I should not say that there would be much difficulty in settling this question between the English and French Cabinets. I am concerned to hear an indifferent account of Lord Hertford.

Ever yours most faithfully,

WELLINGTON.

T. Raikes, Esq.
Paris.

Walmer Castle, August, 25th, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,

I was glad to see the report of what it was supposed that the King had said to the English residents at Calais and Boulogne last week. I was certain that the first reports could not be true. But I have this day seen a more correct version, and possibly nearly what His Majesty said; and I think it satisfactory, inasmuch as it shows that His Majesty thinks that the incipient storm may be calmed. God send that it may! There could not be a greater misfortune for the world than the renewal of the general war at this moment.

Believe me ever, &c.

WELLINGTON.

T. Raikes, Esq.
Paris.

Walmer Castle, September 5th, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,

It appears to me that the newspapers here and in France are again becoming less pacific. I conclude that they write what will please their readers; and, upon such a question as that which now occupies the minds of men, they write in the sense most agreeable to their friends among the public. I sincerely wish that I could

see a chance of bringing this affair to a termination calculated to secure the peace of the world.

September 12th.

I cannot but feel hope that we may yet see peace preserved between these two nations, whose interest is on both sides so essentially involved in its preservation.

I think I see daylight. But it is difficult to form a judgment of any event in which such multitudes take an active part, and are so little reasonable. A little sound sense on both sides would have a wonderful effect.

Ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

Paris, 6th September, 1840.

MY LORD DUKE,

I am very sorry to inform your Grace that the despatch from London, on which such conciliatory hopes were founded here, as I mentioned in my last letter, has produced much disappointment and discontent. It contains, indeed, the most studied expressions of courtesy and politeness, but not a single modification of the original terms of the treaty; no loophole by which France could be admitted into a general co-operation with the other Powers; no trifling concession of which

she might, and would, readily take advantage to abandon, without mortification, the opposing position in which she had so hastily placed herself.

Lord Palmerston is not one of those who build a golden bridge to a retreating enemy.

This letter has been discussed in the Council for several hours, and deemed very unsatisfactory. At the close, M. Thiers has decided to write a reply equally courteous and polite, but equally firm in maintaining his original line of conduct.

Thus does this unfortunate and complicated question appear to be as far removed from a settlement as ever.

Walewski's reports from Alexandria were so far satisfactory, that the Pacha seems inclined to pause for the present, and abstain from offensive operations; but he is privately exciting the public mind with fears for the destruction of Islamism, and representing the liberal innovations of the Porte as subversive of the doctrines of the Prophet.

The country does not wish for war; but, if they are driven into a corner, who can foresee the result?

September 15th.

Notwithstanding the continued fall in the funds, which has now nearly reached 20 per cent.

—notwithstanding the hostile menaces and armaments during the last six weeks, and the orders given yesterday to fortify Paris, the King and his Minister have changed their tone, and it seems almost certain that the articles of the treaty may be accomplished by the four Powers, without any opposition from France. The question of war is therefore deferred for the present: what may happen when the Chambers meet remains to be seen.

I have the honour, &c.

T. RAIKES.

Walmer Castle,
September 16th, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,

As for my part, I have always hoped that we should avoid this evil, notwithstanding that I saw that the danger was imminent. I hope that our Ministers will do all in their power to facilitate to the French Government the adoption of a course of conciliation and peace.

Sept. 26th.—I hope that my anxiety for the preservation of the general peace, does not make me too sanguine in my expectations that it will be preserved. The interests of each and every country of the world are so deeply involved, that I cannot think that wise men, such as are in

France, will occasion such misfortunes as must be the consequence. I think that the delay has already done good, and will do more. Men begin to speak out, and the notions of peace are fairly advocated.

With many thanks for your kindness in writing to me,

Believe me ever
Yours most sincerely,
WELLINGTON.

Paris, September 19th, 1840.

MY LORD DUKE,

Since I had the honour to receive your Grace's letter of the 18th, a despatch has arrived here from Walewski at Alexandria, with the details of the new proposal made by the Pacha to the Porte. He offers to give up the Turkish fleet, Candia, Adana, and the Holy Cities at once; and only to retain Syria for his own life. M. Walewski is gone to Constantinople with this offer; and M. Thiers says he has amply succeeded in his mission. The proposal is considered here very satisfactory; but doubts are still entertained whether Lord Palmerston will accept anything short of the strict letter of the treaty; and, even if he should make no objection, whether Russia may not take the opportunity of withdraw-

ing from the Alliance altogether, and embroiling the affairs of the East in a more serious manner, for her own purposes.

I have the honour to be, &c.

T. RAIKES.

Paris, 22nd September, 1840.

MY LORD DUKE,

I wish I could share your Grace's opinion, that wise men in France will avert the misfortune which menaces Europe. It is, I fear, the absence of wisdom which has caused the present, and will increase our future dilemmas.

Affairs will take a more serious turn in the spring, when the army will be placed on a different footing.

I do not mean to say that this Government has ever wished for war; but the experiment of wantonly rousing a warlike and refractory people for the sake of their own mortified vanity, cannot have been made without risk and peril to the peace of the world.

Every act which emanates from the men of July is devoid of dignity or sincerity; they are fawning or insolent, false or irritating, according to the deference which they are enabled to exact from other nations; but never calm.

The armaments continue with fresh vigour,

and some playful experiments have been made of crossing the Rhine with a moveable bridge of boats at Strasbourg. We are yet to learn what expedient M. Thiers will have recourse to, for pacifying the clamorous question, of what he can show for 600 million francs lavished without approval or consent.

Louis Philippe said lately to Montrond—"*Maintenant la Russie et l'Angleterre se donnent des caresses; bientôt elles voudront s'égratigner; et puis elles finiront par se mordre.*"

This is the period for which they wait; and, if the hatred of Nicholas against the Government of July was not proof against any cajolery, how willingly would they join him against us.

I remain, &c.

T. RAIKES.

Hotel d'Angleterre, Abbeville,
September 24th, 1840.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

In perusing a volume of Burke, which I have with me, I find this passage: "Doctrines limited in their present application, and wide in their general principle, are never meant to be confined to what they at first pretend."—*Burke's Appeal.*

Under this passage I found written in pencil by me in 1828: "Russia exemplifies this, 1828." What Russia then was, she now is—save that

she is more powerful than she was, and will be very shortly infinitely more powerful than she is.

I am on my way to St. Germain, where I mean to pass four or five days, before taking an apartment in Paris—easy journeys suit me best. I shall be at Dieppe on Monday next, where I propose passing two or three days. Then I shall go to Rouen. The *table d'hôte* at Rouen is admirable. There are objections to all *tables d'hôte*, but fewer to that at Rouen than to any I ever knew. There are rarely any English to be seen there; and besides, as Paris is France, so, at this hotel, the *table d'hôte* is the kitchen. Each and every dish, at a private dinner, is a *réchauffé*. Why should you not drop down the river, and pass two or three days at Rouen? I wish you would send me a line to the Hôtel Royal at Dieppe, saying you will do so.

I met yesterday a Russian *employé*, whom I well know, and therefore cannot trust. He assured me Russia would be *loyale*. But I always look at the dial, if I can, when I hear a clock strike; and in this instance I could plainly perceive, by a suppressed smile, how the countenance gave the lie to the tongue.

Pray let me hear from you; and believe me,

Yours truly,

SCROPE DAVIES.

Paris, 3rd October, 1840.

My Lord Duke,

A wild report, on Wednesday, which could not have been known here, that the Cabinet Council in London had refused all overtures from the Pacha, sent the funds down 2 per cent.

Yesterday, however, the *Moniteur* announced a telegraphic despatch from Marseilles, that Beyrout had been reduced to ashes after a nine days' siege; and Turkish, English, and Austrian troops were landed in Syria. This created a serious panic at the Bourse, and the funds fell immediately 5 per cent. and are now at 66.

It is currently reported that the intelligence was kept back by Government.

M. Thiers beginning to find that his threats and armaments have had no effect, his organs speak of this overt act of hostility as an event foreseen, and show no irritation at it.

Meanwhile, the deputies talk of convoking themselves, and discussing the critical situation of the country in private. M. Thiers' constant theme to the King is, that His Majesty must give up all hopes of a foreign alliance; that every advance made by the throne of July has been met with disdain or rejection; and that England has shown but a hollow friendship, in order to desert him when she had gained her objects.

The army is to be completed to 500,000 men. Daily havoc is made in the Bois de Boulogne cutting down the wood for the fortifications, to the sore regret of the Parisians:—Of which a witty foreigner once observed: "*Il y a deux illusions en France: La Charte, et le Bois de Boulogne.*" He might have seen them both dissipated in the last three weeks.

I remain, &c.

T. R.

Walmer Castle, October 4th, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am very much obliged to you for your letter of the 28th September. The difficulties appear to augment between the two countries. I cannot understand the attack upon Beyrout at the particular moment at which it was made, nor whether there was any force engaged excepting the Ottoman.

October 5th, 1840.

God send that we may preserve peace between these two great countries, and for the world! I am certain that there is no desire in this country on the part of any party, I may almost say of any influential individual, to quarrel with, much less to do anything offensive, towards France. But, if we should be under the necessity of going to war, you will witness the most extraordinary

exertions ever made by this or any country, in order to carry the same on with vigour, however undesirable we may think it to enter into it.

I have great confidence in the right judgment and good sense of the King, and of all that class of persons in France who are proprietors of the soil or of capital, or provide for the subsistence of themselves and their families by the exercise of those talents and that industry, which can be productive only in times of peace.

Walmer Castle, October 7th, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,

I write you one line to thank you for your note of the 5th, which I received this morning. God grant that we may yet preserve the peace of the world! I cannot understand that, if Mehemet Ali accepts the arrangements proffered to him by the Porte, there can be any ground for quarrel or for war at present. It is true that the argument cuts both ways. If he accepts the arrangement, there could be no quarrel for an attack upon Beyrout. But it may be said that the acceptance was not in such clear and definite terms as to enable the Porte and her allies to have confidence in it; and this fact may justify the attack.

Ever yours sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

9th.

The prospects of permanent tranquillity are deteriorated, but I do not despair. I think that I see roads to peace, and what I see, others may see likewise.

The *déchéance* of Mehemet Ali is neither more nor less than stupid folly, for which the instigators thereof ought to be whipped!

Then, on the other hand, I cannot conceive that a just man, such as King Louis Philippe, can involve the world in war, in order to prevent a servant of the Porte from submitting to the will of his master, to which he declared himself willing to submit.

As for all the other matters growing out of the blockade, we have had fifty such in the last ten years, which have been settled as these ought to be, and will be undoubtedly, if the demand should be made.

WELLINGTON.

Paris, October 7th, 1840.

MY LORD DUKE,

In continuation of what I had the honour to write to your Grace on Monday, I may add that M. Thiers, I hear, still remains Minister.

Two long Councils have been held, the result of which has been, a note sent to M. Guizot,

ordering a formal protest, in the name of France, against the late hostilities, and the *déchéance* of the Pacha. This is meant as a salve to the wrath of Thiers. How it will be received in London your Grace can better appreciate than myself.

To quote the words of one well informed, "Tout est au plus mal." The King has said, "If I am placed between war and revolution, I must choose the former." He may probably find that they are synonymous.

The party of the *National* have now begun their usual mode of attack, as prelude to revolution. The *Marseillaise* is sung in the theatres, *émeutes* are predicted, and the United Societies are busy in sowing sedition.

With external war on one hand, and internal war on the other, the chances are that we shall be involved in both.

As an isolated fact, the Eastern Question is nothing. Revolutionary pride is struggling to break its bonds; and, when the war of opinion is once lighted in Europe, the Sultan and the Pacha will be alike forgotten.

After yesterday's Council, the King agreed to an earlier convocation of the Chambers, and likewise to a sort of manifesto, to be published in a *menacing sense*. This document M. Thiers took down to St. Cloud in the evening, but the King

found it couched in terms which he would not ratify, and he refused to sign it.

Another was to be prepared to-day, but this has not been accomplished, and two hours ago the Ministers were again talking of resignation.

October 8th.

M. Thiers remains in office, and the King has agreed to convoke the Chambers for the 28th inst. Thiers is very much dispirited; he finds that after all his threats the country is not yet in a state to go to war, and this has been flatly exposed to him by the Ministers of Finance and of War.

The rumour is, that last night some proposal of a conciliatory nature was sent to London; and hopes are entertained of a satisfactory reply. It probably goes to the taking off the *déchéance* of the Pacha, and to the cession of Egypt, which a fortnight ago was allowed without French interference. At all events, *On est plus calme aujourd'hui.*

The army is very desirous of war; and, among other complications in which this Minister has placed the country, is this: that the troops will not assist in putting down any rebellious efforts which may have for pretext the commencement of hostilities with the foreigner.

I remain, &c.

T. RAIKES.

Walmer Castle, October 10th, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,

I write one line to thank you for your letter of the 8th, received this morning. If our ministers are wise, they will have taken their course respecting the conduct of the British Ambassador at Constantinople before they will have received any communication from France in relation to the *déchéance* of Mehemet Ali. At all events, I hope that advantage will be taken of the eighteen days' relapse before the meeting of the French Chambers, that all parties may see that peace is not incompatible with national honour. It is certainly not so with national interests, and I still hope that the general peace of the world may continue inviolate.

October 15th.

My hopes are more sanguine that we shall preserve peace; though it is reported that a note recently sent to M. Guizot by M. de Thiers is not written in a pacific tone.

It appears to me that, if we do quarrel now, it will be for the same cause as those who quarrel in Billingsgate; that is, for language rather than substance. I am glad that the affair of the National Guard was deemed a failure. A failure, in France, is much more fatal than such a mis-

fortune ever is here. In France, ridicule always attaches to failure; and that, no affair in France ever recovers from.

Believe me,

Ever yours most faithfully,

WELLINGTON.

Paris, October 11th, 1840.

MY LORD DUKE,

I very much fear that the "stupid folly," as you justly term it, which instigated the *déchéance* of the Pacha Mehemet Ali, must be traced to English passion and prejudice.

Lord Ponsonby's animosity against the Pacha is unbounded, and too freely expressed for the ambassador of a great Power. It has caused much needless irritation here.

If, as it is probable, we shall hear in a few days of an attack on St. Jean d'Acre, the ferment will recommence and *de plus belle*.

The funds have risen, but I do not think that Lord Granville sees the road by any means clear as yet. I jestingly observed to him that Lord Palmerston's conduct was little in unison with his motto, "Flecti non frangi:" he said, perhaps mine would be more appropriate to him, "Frangas non flectis."

The discussions at a meeting of Deputies on

Thursday, at Odillon Barrot's house, were very warlike. Some of the Paris mob cry out, "Guerre aux Anglais! ils ont pris notre Beyrout!" which, I believe, they suppose to be a town on the coast of Normandy. The English students have been driven from the lectures at the schools; and the *National* has summoned for to-day a meeting of National Guards and workmen, which I hope the armed force will prevent.

As I came out of the Variétés last night an Englishman was assassinated by a *gamin* not more than sixteen; it might have been private pique. These, however, were the reckless urchins who, in the glorious days of July, crept under the horses' bellies and stabbed the mounted *gendarmes*.

There is a telegraphic despatch received of some insurrections at Lyons.

Thus we shall remain, blowing hot and cold, till the meeting of the Chambers.

I have the honour to remain, &c.

T. RAIKES.

Paris, October 13th, 1840.

MY LORD DUKE,

I sincerely hope that the road to peace, as seen by your Grace in your note of the 10th, may not only be seen, but adopted by others. *Diploma-*

tiquement parlant, the horizon has visibly cleared up within the last two days, and the impression has gained ground that matters now may be amicably arranged.

This feeling is grounded on the conciliatory tone adopted in the last despatch from hence, and the favourable answer hourly expected here after the Council held in London on Saturday.

Notwithstanding the affectation of a high tone, M. Thiers has cautiously abstained from laying down any act of the Powers as a *casus belli*, and merely deals in vague insinuations for the future; but, if the revocation of the *déchéance* is to be put to the credit side, even that act of folly may have had its use, as offering a very cheap concession. On the other hand, the funds have risen considerably; there have been several awkward demonstrations of public feeling in the press and in the multitude. The proposed assemblage of National Guards and workmen was introduced by the Government, but a deputation of the former went on Sunday to the hotel of M. Thiers, who had taken good care to remain at Auteuil; they were received by a secretary, and left a most insolent note, blaming the timid policy of the Administration.

The Duke of Orleans remains a firm advocate for war; his grounds for this conviction may be explained by the speech which he lately made at

Chantilly, to one who asked his opinion on the subject: "J'aimerais mieux être tué sur le Rhin, que dans le ruisseau de Paris."

The Chartist delegates arrived from Manchester; which would not be worth mentioning, if Mr. Urquhart had not been seen on Sunday night at M. Thiers' reception.

Much inconvenience and, therefore, much discontent is felt by the inhabitants of the *banlieue*, on account of the numerous troops quartered upon them for the construction of the new fortifications: some opposition will doubtless be made to this project when the Chambers meet. The protest of the National Guards states that they are to be enlisted much less against the Holy Alliance than against liberty, and solely to cover the pusillanimities of diplomacy. The Prince de Joinville is coming home with the coffin of the Emperor Napoleon; and much apprehension is felt for the maintenance of public order at a moment when such immense multitudes will be collected on the whole line of march from the coast to Paris.

The *on dit* is, that Lord Palmerston has thrown the dust of Napoleon in the eyes of the French nation, in order to blind them to the treaty of July.

At the Embassy none of that sanguine feeling is visible which seems to exist in other quarters;

and at Madame de Flahault's on Sunday night the language was so violent, that she thinks of shutting her door.

The situation of affairs here is clearly this: the King is sincerely anxious for peace; M. Thiers would readily go to war, if he could; but finding that the sinews thereof are wanting, his first object is to pacify the Chambers; for this he must get something from London, or go out. The King would be delighted to get rid of him altogether; but then he must bear the brunt of the past; and as the feeling of the Chambers is still very dubious, he must continue to support him in this embarrassing predicament.

The destruction of Beyrout was a fabrication here, in order to create irritation against the treaty; but it appears to be very problematical whether the invaders will be able to make head against Ibrahim's forces.

In the event of their being driven back to their fleet, the ships will not be able long to keep their present position on account of the season. Then active measures will be postponed to the spring, which will be a great card in favour of M. Thiers.

I remain, &c.

T. R.

Paris, October 17th, 1840.

My Lord Duke,

Your Grace will have seen the *exposé* of M. Thiers, which the journals on both sides the water have worn threadbare. We hear that his despatch of the 8th to Lord Palmerston, which followed three days after, has produced nothing satisfactory.

I am shocked to say that the King was again fired at the night before last, as he passed the Place de la Concorde in his carriage, with the Queen and Madame Adelaide, on his return to St. Cloud. The carbine, which was overloaded, burst, and shattered the assassin's hand, without injuring the royal family. Blandin, the surgeon who is employed to attend the criminal, had yesterday to cut off three of his fingers. He represents him as a hardened Radical, expressing regret merely at his failure. When asked by him if he had any accomplices, he replied, "No; but the eyes of thirty thousand Republicans were upon me." It is asserted that they draw lots for the task, and any one refusing to perform his engagement is murdered, and thrown into the Seine. These are the blessed effects of the Revolution of July. The embassy continues very desponding; and Madame de Lieven told me that her apprehensions of eventual war are fully as strong as my own. It seems, indeed, no longer

a question of peace, but merely of the delay of war. M. Thiers flatly tells us: "Croire qu'on retrouvera la France sans defiance, sans ressentiment d'une telle offense, c'est se faire de la fierté nationale une idée qu'elle n'a jamais donné au monde."

The King wished to expunge such a paragraph, but was overruled. As your Grace observes, the offence is more in language than in substance; and in the difficulty to which M. Thiers has brought the nation, the slightest relaxation of the tight cord held by the allied Powers would effectually conciliate matters.

It has been suggested to me, in fact, by the Duc Decazes, as a means of promoting general unanimity on this thorny question, to ask how far, in your Grace's opinion, the idea might be considered practicable, of permitting the occupation of the isle of Candia by the French troops (merely during the fulfilment of the treaty in the East), under the strictest guarantee of restoration when the arrangement was completed; and in the meantime to join the general league as if no difficulties had previously existed.

A word of counsel as to the feasibility of such an arrangement will be most gratefully received.

I have the honour to remain always, &c.

T. RAIKES.

Walmer Castle, October 19th, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,

I will not delay to acknowledge the receipt of, and to thank you for, your note of the 17th. I heard here, on the 17th, at night, and was much shocked by the report, of the fresh attempt upon the life of the King; and I was delighted to learn that God had preserved his valued life.

I understood that as far back as August last a proposition had been made to renew the negociations for the settlement of what is called the "Question d'Orient" on a new basis, which should be put in terms satisfactory to France; and that the King of the French should be asked to join in them. I never heard of the result. I can understand that France might think that her interests and views were not sufficiently attended to in the first negociation, and in that subsequently proposed. But I confess that I have never been able to discover cause for offence in any of these transactions; but whether there is cause for offence or not, nations may quarrel and go to war upon questions solely of interest and claim compensation. But I never heard of a nation claiming compensation from a third party; that is to say, that France, claiming compensation from England, Prussia, Austria, and Russia, should claim it from the Porte.

I have no influence or power over this or any other question. But I confess, that knowing as much as I do of these questions, as military questions, in the Levant, I should say, that if it is important to Europe that the Ottoman family should continue to exist, and to reign at Constantinople, it is necessary that Candia should be theirs.

No Power could consent to the occupation of Candia by France.

Believe me ever, &c.

WELLINGTON.

Paris, 22nd October, 1840.

MY LORD DUKE,

An event has occurred, since I had the honour to write to your Grace, which may essentially change the face of affairs. M. Thiers and his colleagues took their resignation to St. Cloud last evening. The point at issue was a further levy of 150,000 men, which Thiers wanted to announce in the opening speech, at which His Majesty very properly kicked.

Four o'clock.—I believe I may now add that the King has accepted the resignation of the Ministers. The discussion was very warm last night; it was only this morning, at nine o'clock, that the Ministers returned to the charge, and insisted

on the warlike measure. The King would allow some general allusions, but this would not satisfy them. The unanimity in the Cabinet proceeds from the wish of all the others to resign; those who are for peace embracing this opportunity of getting out of the scrape by adhering to the warlike expressions.

I hear that the King immediately sent for M. de Broglie, who said, that, under existing circumstances, he could not pretend to form a cabinet, and thus declined. Thiers, and the revolutionary party, will now become very formidable in the Chamber and in the streets.

I have the honour always to remain, &c.

THOMAS RAIKES.

Paris, October 23rd, 1840.

MY LORD DUKE,

I trust that my news of last night reached your Grace earlier than any communication from hence, as I was apprised of the King's acceptance of the resignation by one just come from St. Cloud, when the post was on the eve of departure.

I have explained the sudden unanimity of a divided Cabinet in the hostile expressions, as both parties were heartily sick of their position under M. Thiers (perhaps chiefly the peace party),

and gladly seized this opportunity of vacating their seats. M. Thiers himself, who is as clever as he is rash, has clearly seen his own position. He felt that if he resigned now he might make himself a martyr to the popular cause of national honour, and would probably hereafter return to power with increased popularity; but, if he were left in a minority in the Chambers, he would lose both popularity and place. His object, as I have all along said, was to gain some concessions, however trifling, from the parties to the treaty, which he might exhibit to the Chambers as a trophy, obtained by his late warlike demonstrations and squandering of the public money. His last effort was the unassuming pacific note of the 8th to M. Guizot, which, failing in its object to obtain the slightest modification in his favour from the unbending policy of Lord Palmerston, he has made up his mind to quit the helm and fight his own battle in another shape. The following I hear credibly were the questions proposed by him to the Council in London, and the replies:—

Whether they had sanctioned the *déchéance* of the Pacha?

They had not, but would try to soften the Sultan.

To what extent they would carry their military operations?

To the strict letter of the Treaty.

Whether they would attack the two fleets?

That would depend on circumstances, and the conduct of the Pacha.

The chances of war are, I hope, diminished; but a new Ministry, however composed, will have to struggle with stupendous difficulties. The King will be held up to obloquy by the violent press, and in such a reckless, disjointed nation as this, no one can look into the face of coming events without awful forebodings of danger, if not to the peace of the world, *to the duration of this throne.*

Private irritation has brought us to this pass. It is too apparent that this critical state of affairs may be traced to a duel of words.

M. Guizot is expected here on Sunday. The old Marshal has been twice with the King; M. de Broglie refused, because the idea of the speech was too pacific. Comte Molé is very discontented at his exclusion; but the souvenir of Ancona and Belgium would render his entry into the Cabinet unpalatable. Flahault went to St. Cloud immediately on his arrival, to give an account of English feelings which he had studied at Holland House, and I am sure he would be anxious to avoid increasing the irritation.

It is surmised that much acrimony between the two Cabinets may now be removed by the

secession of M. Thiers, whose proposal to the King went so far as an augmentation of the army to 650,000 men.

The journals in Thiers's interest have this morning been, as Montrond found *him, tranquilles*, but a calm often precedes a storm.

The difference between England and France is this:—England is divided into parties, hostile perhaps to each other, but all agreed in supporting the monarchy: France is split into parties exasperated with each other; but the monarchy itself is a party, and incurs its share of hatred from the rest.

24th October.

There is nothing new to-day, nor will anything occur till the arrival of M. Guizot. It is supposed that the Chambers may be prorogued till the 10th of next month, but no *Ordonnance* is as yet issued. There will be no difficulty in forming a Cabinet. The general opinion of sensible men is, that the foreign question is simplified, but the internal question much more complicated.

I remain, &c.

T. RAIKES.

Walmer Castle, October 24th, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,

I heard yesterday of the change of Ministers at Paris. I thought that circumstances which had recently occurred must have shown M. Thiers that the majority of the Chamber of Deputies was not probably in favour of war. I have this morning received your note of the 22nd, for which I return my thanks. From the latter end thereof I am afraid that the King may not have been able to form another Government, under Marshal Soult and M. Guizot. However, I hope for the best.

26th.

I am very happy to learn that things appear better; and that it is thought that an administration will be formed, and that the settlement of the foreign question is simplified.

M. Guizot passed through town early yesterday, and was probably at Paris this morning. I hope that our Cabinet would have had the good sense to manifest no acrimony, even had M. Thiers remained in office; but at all events not under existing circumstances.

WELLINGTON.

Walmer Castle, October 30th, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,

Since I have received your letter of the 28th, I have heard that the Administration has been formed. God send that it may give satisfaction to the King—be permanent, and contribute to establish the peace of the world! That is the want and the wish of all nations. I return you again many thanks for your kindness in writing me such interesting letters.

Believe me,

Ever yours, most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

Paris, October 28th, 1840.

MY LORD DUKE,

Nothing has occurred since the expected arrival of M. Guizot on Monday morning. Since that time he has been engaged in useless discussions, and these long hesitations prove too well the difficulties by which he feels that he is now surrounded. The experience of the question which he has gained in England must have rather tended to unfit him, than otherwise, for the policy adopted here.

If expectations are formed in England of a more pacific feeling to be exhibited by a new

Administration, let the individuals composing it be who they may, I very much fear they will be disappointed. It seems clear that the system will be precisely the same as that of M. Thiers, who, in that case, will give it his firm support. The question might be asked why he resigned? I believe that his inconsistencies had laid him so open to rebuke that he feared to find himself in a minority. But there is so much juggling throughout these transactions, they set calculations at defiance. The King's own idea of the opening speech was, in fact, more warlike than that of his Ministers, with this difference, that the one specified positive acts of further military armaments, while the other would have dealt but in vague menaces for the future.

Both are acting a part—both are lavishing praises on each other, which are alike foreign to their hearts. M. Thiers will support what he calls his own system, till he sees them arrive at a point where moderate and pacific counsels might prevail, and then he will open the cave of Æolus, and raise up a fierce opposition, that will enable him to resume the reins of Government.

In the meantime, the armaments here are proceeding with redoubled vigour, except in the cavalry, for which it is difficult to procure horses abroad. Large shipments of copper are secured in Russia, and shortly expected for the foundries.

The busy attitude of the War Office would indicate that war was inevitable. A spirit of irritation and pride is raised throughout the country, and daily increasing. Great discontent likewise prevails from other sources, and particularly among that numerous class, the inhabitants of the *banlieue*, who see their property daily sacrificed for the long line of fortifications, and are loud in their complaints against the Government.

I have just now received your Grace's note of the 26th, as the post is going out. The *hesitation* still exists. M. Thiers said last night that he advised M. Guizot to accept, because he was at liberty to undo anything he had done in London, having acted only as an agent; but that for himself he was bound by his antecedents.

I have the honour to remain,

T. RAIKES.

Paris, October 31st, 1840.

MY LORD DUKE,

The discussions lasted during the whole of Thursday, and it was not till the evening that the difficulties were overcome, and the new Cabinet of Soult and Guizot composed. The secession of MM. Dufaure and Passy, the friends of M. Thiers, and the representatives of the *Gauche*, causes some apprehensions for the future.

To remark inconsistencies where nothing is consistent might be useless; else what are we to think of the King's expressions at Eu, on the subject of M. Guizot's conduct in England, "Voilà ce qu'on gagne à employer des professeurs et des doctrinaires," who now takes refuge in the bosom of that party?

Lord Palmerston's note to Lord Ponsonby is considered here as evasive and hostile. I am sorry to say that the warlike feeling increases. I live much in French society, and I see the leaven arising in all quarters around me. No French families go to the Embassy; and the conviction M. Thiers has striven to impress upon the nation, that they have received a *soufflet*, is one that he knows they will not endure.

We must now await the opening of the Chambers on Thursday next.

The death of Lord Holland* has created much sensation here: the Liberal party think they have lost an advocate in our Cabinet, as the name of Fox is considered friendly to the French alliance. Lord Granville has been much affected by this event, which has suddenly lopped off one of the few survivors of that knot of friends attached to him by early recollections.

* Father of the late Lord Holland.

November 1st.

M. Thiers went to the King, and told His Majesty that, if he had permitted the levy of 150,000 men and the mobilization of the National Guard, it was more than probable that, as Ibrahim may be able to retain his footing in Syria during the winter, some slight concession would have been made to him by the Allied Powers; which, serving as a pretext to satisfy France, might induce her to join the Treaty, in which case M. Thiers would have gradually sunk in public estimation, and might easily have been got rid of; but, now that His Majesty had thought fit to change his policy, it only remained for Thiers to give proofs of his own consistency. The King was very angry, as he cannot bear opinions that differ from his own; and it is he who will suffer by these *éclaircissements;* because, however the nation may overlook his cunning and duplicity, they will never tolerate a *lâcheté.* M. Thiers is now to vote against his own measures, because he can no longer direct them as he wished, on the ground of having been foiled in his views for the public good.

The news is just arrived by telegraph that Beyrout has been occupied by the Anglo-Turks. They are fortifying Saida. The Emir Beschir

has deserted from the cause of Mehemet Ali, and is arrived at Malta with his family and suite of a hundred and fifteen persons.

The insurrection in the mountains is become general. Ibrahim is going to concentrate all his forces.

I have the honour to remain, &c.

T. RAIKES.

Walmer Castle, November 4th, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,

What you have stated is most curious.

It is very clear to me that Louis Philippe has had a narrow escape. He would probably have been involved in naval or military difficulties, and then his state would have been the same as that of all sovereigns involved in foreign war by domestic factions, who cannot or will not supply the means of carrying on the operations of the same so as to be successful; and then those who occasion the war are loudest in their complaints of disgrace, and the public are to be satisfied by hurling the sovereign from the throne and a fresh Revolution. This is the natural and usual course of such events and transactions.

Believe me, &c.

WELLINGTON.

November 5th, 1840.

My Lord Duke,

I write a few lines to say that the *ouverture des Chambres* took place very quietly. The King was received with cheers; but the *côté gauche* remained silent. The nomination of the President will come on to-morrow or next day. I have still reason to hope that M. Sauzet will be placed in the chair.

The King was escorted to the house by an immense military force; the whole route was lined by double files of soldiers, and the populace were kept out of gunshot by the National Guards. Thus it is that in France a Citizen King rules over a free and enlightened people!

Walmer Castle, November 6th, 1840.

My dear Sir,

I have just now received your note of the 4th,* for which I am much obliged to you. I wish that the prospects of the Ministry were more certain; but I don't despair that there may yet be found a sufficient number of men of patriotism and good sense in the Chamber of Deputies to give peace to the world. You will have seen that I always considered that act at Constantinople as most unfortunate, and as little neces-

* This note is lost.

sary for the execution of the Treaty as it was inconsistent with the political professions of the British Government and its policy in relation to the Porte and their Treaty. It ought, therefore, to have been countermanded and recalled without loss of time in the most signal manner, and no time given to the French Government to demand such act of recall; but wiser men, with greater power than I hold, thought otherwise. I think, however, that the French Government are wrong in imputing to the Parliament here an *arrière pensée.*

Ever yours, most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

November 7th, 1840.

THE election of M. Sauzet as President of the Chamber, by a majority of 220 votes over 154 obtained by Odillon Barrot, is an encouraging circumstance for the new Cabinet. His Majesty is become such an ardent admirer of peace, that, if he were not withheld by certain cogent apprehensions, I believe he would now not only sacrifice Egypt and the Pacha, but even Toulon and Marseilles, if necessary to accomplish his desired object.

The studied ambiguity of the speech, which really breathes nothing but peace, has been more

or less violently attacked. But the positive warfare will not be organized until M. Thiers begins the defence of his own conduct, which, it is supposed, will be based upon the pledge previously given by Marshal Soult to the Pacha, that he should retain the government of Syria.

I had some conversation last night with Lord Granville, who seemed to think that matters wore a more favourable aspect. He was anxious to know your Grace's opinion on these new fortifications round Paris, in a military point of view; and doubtless it would have great weight in guiding the negociations, and be of essential service to English interests.

Montrond, who had just quitted the King, told me His Majesty was very sanguine that the Ministry would stand firm in public opinion, and said they were very united among themselves. The King told Montrond that he had never promised more than neutrality to the Pacha, and that the Pacha had never asked for more from France. In this case, why has all this hubbub been created?

I remain, &c.

T. RAIKES.

Walmer Castle, November 7th, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have seen a copy of the speech, which is as moderate as could have been desired. I trust that our Government will act as it ought—do everything to facilitate to the King the execution of his purpose.

November 9th.

I am much obliged to you for your letter just received. The accounts of the result of the election of the President arrived at Dover, and were sent to me here yesterday afternoon, and gave me great satisfaction. I am aware that this event can be considered only as a fact. We may have many difficult questions yet. The consequences of the proposed fortifications of Paris are a very extended question, which could not be entered into conveniently in a note of this description. Of this I am very certain,—any power who should commence a war upon another must well consider its necessity, and the risks and dangers to be incurred by commencing it on the one hand, and by avoiding it on the other. The operations, and the means of carrying them on, and their eventual success, would come to be considered in their time under this general head. In this view, the fortifications of the city of Paris

would be a material point to be considered by any power, particularly by a continental power, whose Ministers have under their consideration the question of operations to be carried on in case of war with France. But I must say that those Ministers would be very unfit to govern any country who should allow the question of peace or war with France, if at their option, or the course of the negociations which are to terminate in the one or the other, to be influenced by the fact that works of fortification have been constructed for the defence of the city of Paris. We have not had the experience of fifty years now to be under the necessity of learning that it is no mean enterprise to invade France, and to bring a preponderating force to the capital, even though there should be no new work of defence in Paris, than there was in 1814 and 1815.

Believe me ever, &c.

WELLINGTON.

Thomas Raikes, Esq.
Paris.

Paris, November 12th, 1840.

MY LORD DUKE,

The result to me was perfectly clear and explicit, that the fortifications would be an additional obstacle to an invading army, but that this consideration ought not to influence or bias

any foreign Government in declaring war against France, if either their honour or interest rendered such a measure necessary. I showed this note to Lord Granville, who said, "What I wished to know was, whether it might be considered as an advantage to France?"—a question to which I thought your Grace's letter had been a full and sufficient reply.

The fortifications are upon an immense scale; they will be fourteen leagues in length, and will require 200,000 troops to man them,—they are still in progression.

A sudden and unexpected calm has succeeded to the late storm. Meantime, the military force is increased in the capital, and kept on the *alerte*, although the streets are perfectly tranquil, and even the sound of the Marseillaise is no longer heard. M. Thiers said to a friend of mine, on Saturday, that if he had remained in office till the news had arrived of the late success in Syria, he would at once have declared war, or resigned.

I hear that we must not expect the Address to be quite so pacific or so weak as the Speech.

The note of Lord Palmerston to Lord Granville of the 2nd November is considered unfavourable.

I have the honour to be, &c.

T. RAIKES.

Walmer Castle, November 16th, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,

I concur with you in thinking that which I stated upon the fortifications about Paris ought to have satisfied any man. I could not have said more in a note, such as I was writing to you.

I still trust that we may be able to preserve peace. It is curious enough that these patrons of the doctrine of non-intervention cannot see that they have nothing to say to the *déchéance* of Mehemet Ali, from his office of Viceroy of Egypt by the Porte, in consequence of their relations with the Porte by the treaty of July, 1840. And that they ought not to interfere particularly to have that *déchéance* declared, much less enforced.

On the contrary, if they should have found, as they must have found, that the declaration, and, above all, the enforcement, of the *déchéance*, at that or at any particular moment, were calculated to embarrass the settlement of the Syrian affair, which is the object of their treaty, or to endanger the peace of Europe—to preserve which must be the object of all at all times—they ought to have made every effort to prevail upon the Porte, as an ally interested in the settlement of the Syrian affair, and in the preservation of the peace in the

Levant, at least to recall this unreasonable declaration, and above all to abstain from taking any steps to enforce it. This is my opinion. I am about moving from hence, and am going to London to-morrow, and thence into Hants. But I shall be happy to hear from you whenever you can make it convenient to write me a line. Direct to me in Piccadilly; I shall always receive your letter in safety.

Believe me ever,

Yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

Thomas Raikes, Esq.
Paris.

Strathfieldsaye, November 19th, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,

There can be no doubt of active intrigues on all sides; but, as long as the existing family reign in Russia, and prevent revolution in that country, I cannot believe that there will be any alliance between Russia and Modern France, which is too nearly revolutionary to be a great favourite with the autocrat of all the Russias.

Believe me, &c.

WELLINGTON.

Paris, Thursday, November 19th, 1840.

My Lord Duke,

To write at all in a consistent strain of public feeling here is out of the question; it varies every day with the barometer, and, though I do not feel conscious of misjudging or misstating what passes within my observation, I fear that my letters must at times appear very contradictory on this subject. The calm of last week was succeeded by great irritation at the note of the 2nd inst., and a little reflection has brought with it the mortifying conviction, that France at this moment is utterly incapable of making any resistance to the four powers. Notwithstanding her new levies, she could not muster twenty thousand cavalry, while it is well known she would be opposed by eighty thousand of that arm if she moved. The pacific views of the King and the ministry will therefore meet with but slight opposition; the majority of the Address in the Chamber of Peers, though never considered of much import, amply partakes of that feeling, and I am informed that the result in the Chamber of Deputies, though the Address itself is not yet concocted, will be very favourable to Monsieur Guizot's policy.

It is impossible for any nation to have been placed in a worse position in the face of all

Europe, and they feel it. This fact has fortunately dissipated two illusions which have had more or less weight, at times, in European policy, since the year 1830. It has shown that the military power of France, as it has existed since her last Revolution, was by no means so formidable as the world had imagined; and also that her boasted engine of attack, the *Propaganda*, is become, from the progress of more enlightened ideas in other governments, a very harmless weapon. The idea of the French, that their presence in the Rhenane provinces would be hailed with joy, has received a very salutary check. It has been made apparent that the German youth, though still attached to liberty, have no wish to make another experiment of French fraternisation. Luckless Poland is now so *cernée* on all sides by Russian forts and garrisons that she cannot move; added to which there is an understanding between the three partitioning powers to act in concert against their victim at the slightest notice. Degenerate Italy may dislike the yoke, but she has no energy to shake it off. Austria has not been idle in riveting her chains, as I have witnessed myself in the stupendous works erected in the Tyrol, &c. since the last war, and now completed.

Lord Palmerston will now have full scope to continue his unbending policy in the East, even

to the letter of the Treaty, and France will probably see a great European question decided, while her voice has been entirely disregarded in the synod of the nations.

The throne of July is doomed, as Madame de Sévigné would say, to *avaler des dragons*, and submit to the fate which its tortuous counsels have prepared for it. But I very much fear that if ultra measures of severity (I mean measures not contemplated by the Treaty) are to be inflicted on the Pacha, the national pride here will become so exasperated, that the masses, in default of their power to wreak vengeance on the foreigner, will overturn the throne itself, as the cause of their mortification. It is an idea which I have started to your Grace from the commencement of this correspondence, and I am now the more confirmed in it, because I see how much the individual who occupies it has declined in public estimation by his own inconsistent and artful conduct.

Plutarch has said that cunning is of all qualities the most fatal in a prince. To turn to the main source of these misfortunes, M. Thiers (who is himself too rash to be cunning) is preparing to do as much mischief as he can. The part that has been played by another individual will now sadly increase the difficulties which surround him. The grave question will be agitated in the

Chambers shortly, whether the armaments shall be continued; and here all Europe is concerned. War is only deferred from the want of means to carry it on; the provocation remains in full force, and if France is allowed to fill up her *cadres* to the immense extent which was projected by the late Ministry, another year may place us in a very different attitude; and, if she then can single out her enemy, it will be a war to the knife. Already do they begin to say here that Russia is the natural ally of France, because their interests can never clash; while a union with England must always be hollow and disadvantageous. It will require all the rooted hatred of Nicholas to the throne of July and its occupant, to resist the unceasing cajoleries which will be made from hence, with a view of detaching him from England, and breaking up the present coalition, which has proved so fatal to French pride and French pretensions.

I am, &c.

T. RAIKES.

Strathfieldsaye, November 22nd, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have this morning received your letter of the 19th November. I cannot tell you how much I am interested by your letters, nor how

much obliged I am for the trouble you take in writing them. It is impossible that the state of the public feeling, and the minds and opinions of the most capable men in France, should not vary from time to time with the varying state of affairs.

I quite concur in your ideas and opinions of the future. The allies will be insane if they endeavour to stretch their *casus fœderis* one iota beyond the original stipulation and its legitimate consequences—the possession of Syria.

I hope they will have the sense to see that the best chance they have for the preservation of that which is desirable, nay, necessary to all, is to revert to the old understanding and engagements with France, and to observe the execution of them strictly. This is my opinion: they all know it, and they shall hear of it again whenever they afford me an opportunity.

Believe me, ever yours,

Most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

Thomas Raikes, Esq. à Paris.

Paris, 22nd November, 1840.

MY LORD DUKE,

With regard to the subject with which I concluded my last letter, there is no doubt that

a marked change has lately taken place, and that an influx of Russian visitors (notwithstanding their usual difficulty in obtaining permission from the Emperor to reside at Paris on the plea of ill health) has for the last six weeks proved a great relaxation in the prohibitory system hitherto maintained by the autocrat. Their most general, and certainly most frivolous, pretext is to consult a *somnambule*, who is no other than a charlatan. The hotel of Princess Lieven is the scene of their *réunions*, and Madame de Flahault complains that she has chosen Thursday (which is her night) for the receptions, in order to exclude her and other English visitors. It has long been privately rumoured that in the month of June last a proposition was made by the French Government to Russia, offering to form an alliance, with the view of realising "une grande question politique," that of allowing Russia to settle the Eastern question in her own way, and to cede to France the old frontiers of the Rhine. And I am told by a mutual friend that Prince Paul of Wurtemberg, the father of the Grand Duchess Helen, candidly confessed to his inquiry, that he had been the bearer of this mission, and had received from the Emperor Nicholas this answer to the proposition, "*C'est trop tard.*" At that moment the negociations with Count Brunow were in a

train of settlement. This circumstance may probably be known to Lord Palmerston, and may in some measure account for his unconciliating conduct towards France.

I have the honour to remain, &c.

T. RAIKES.

Strathfieldsaye, November 23rd, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have this morning received your interesting letter of the 22nd. I do not doubt the inclination of the lady whom you mention to do this country all the mischief in her power, in return for much kindness and goodwill with which she was treated during a long residence here. England must be strong, very prudent, and circumspect; must look before her, and about her, and keep out of little scrapes and questions. She will not want allies, if she places herself in rest; and she may defy the intrigues of all the little doers (male as well as female) who are at work in all the courts of Europe.

This lady had at one time great power—she has none now, particularly with the government of her own country. To tell you the truth, that about which I am most anxious, in the existing state of affairs, is to bring the French government back into its real and beneficial position in the

councils of Europe. Till we can attain that object, we shall not have genuine peace. But what has passed in the last month has created such a feeling of distrust throughout Europe, and particularly in the question to which you refer, that I should be afraid the sovereign will never be brought to consult in anything with the French Government. The fact which you mention as a proof of returning cordiality is very well deserving of attention, and I will enquire about it.

Ever yours most faithfully,

WELLINGTON.

T. Raikes, Esq.
Paris.

Paris, 1st December, 1840.

MY LORD DUKE,

In confirmation of what I have already written on the subject, M. Casimir Périer, who is now First Secretary of the French Embassy at Petersburgh, has stated in his letters that the conduct of the Emperor has undergone a marked change. He treats them all with great attention, and has purposely observed that he did not care about Syria and Egypt.

On Friday last, M. Thiers spoke for a long time against M. Guizot; he cited part of a letter written on the 16th July, previous to the signature of the treaty, as proof that he had deceived

him during his embassy. He owned that he was himself a revolutionist, and that his intention had been to go to war; and ended by an appeal to the national honour, which he asserted had been grossly outraged.

The Russian Ambassador at Paris, Count Pahlen, said to me that evening, "*M. Thiers a brûlé ses vaisseaux.*"

On the following day, M. Guizot replied to the accusation by reading the whole of the letter of the 16th July, and proved that M. Thiers had attacked him on an *ex parte* statement.

There is a general feeling of animadversion here on the unparliamentary manner in which the debates have, within the last few days, been conducted in the Chambers. The unusual and irregular proceeding of quoting official dispatches, and even private letters, before a parliament for the purpose of shielding one minister or of attacking another, is so destructive of all diplomatic confidence and security, that French *employés* will in future be cautious how they write to the Minister for Foreign Affairs at home.

With regard to the cajoleries commenced with Russia, it is rather curious to observe, that there are now here the wives of three ministers, Nesselrode, Benckendorff, and Tchernitcheff. The arrival of Queen Christina at Paris has also furnished a fresh opportunity for the fertile brain

of Louis Philippe to further a scheme of private ambition. He is anxious to negotiate a marriage for one of his younger sons with the little Queen Isabella of Spain. M. Mounier has been dispatched to London *pour sonder les esprits* on affairs in Spain; but if he should be bold enough to advert to this intrigue, I think there can be little doubt as to the reception it will meet with from the British Cabinet. The Queen Regent is on her way to Naples, and it would seem hard to have drawn her hither for such a fruitless object. I hear that M. de St. Aulaire will be the new French Ambassador in London.

As I felt confident that a good effect would be produced by the feeling expressed in your Grace's letter of the 25th November, that you were anxious to bring the French Government back into its beneficial position in the councils of Europe, I was induced to copy that paragraph, and have allowed it to be shown to M. Guizot and the King: this, I trust, you will not disapprove. I have lived so much, and now so long in France, and have received such kindness and friendship here (notwithstanding the unprepossessing position of a decayed gentleman) that I cannot but feel a deep interest in the promotion and restoration of harmony between these two countries.

I have the honour, &c. T. RAIKES.

Strathfieldsaye, December 2nd, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,

The discussions in the Chamber of Deputies, as far as they have gone, and according to the very imperfect reports which I have seen of them, tend to show very clearly that, though we may have peace at present, the permanence of such relations must be very doubtful. The revolutionary principle is avowed by nearly all public men, and proclaimed as loudly as in the days of Louis XVI. In short, we have returned to those days, instead of to a modification of those of Louis XVIII. as was the avowed intention of the days of July.

I do not see how it will be possible for our Ministers to re-establish what was called the intimate alliance with France, if it ever existed, which I confess I have always doubted. There was jealousy on every subject, which is not calculated to facilitate the execution of the measures of Allied Government, carrying them on for their mutual advantage. I do not know whether any regular report will be published of the debates in the Chambers on the Address. I have written to Colonel Gurwood to request him to send me a copy of a regular report directly published. It will be very interesting.

Ever yours, most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

Thomas Raikes, Esq.

Strathfieldsaye, Dec. 4th, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,

The truth is, that the treaties between Russia and the Porte of 1833 were very inconvenient to the Emperor. They placed him on bad terms with all the maritime powers of Europe. Yet he must have renewed his treaty of Unkia Skelessi, in July, 1840, or lose the security of the navigation of the Black Sea. That is secured to him by the treaty of July, 1840, and, in my opinion, His Imperial Majesty is interested in the arrangements of that treaty.

I sincerely trust that France may, after all, find herself in a position to take her station in the association of the powers of Europe. But the orators in the Chambers are doing everything in their power to convince the world that it is still revolutionary France, which can only bluster and bully, and fight and conquer (if not firmly opposed), with which they have to deal; and not the France of the Restoration, or of the days of July, 1830. This is unfortunate, but I do not despair!

Ever yours, &c.

WELLINGTON.

Paris, 6th December, 1840.

My Lord Duke,

These disorderly debates came to a conclusion last night. Three or four amendments were allowed by the Commission, and a much more proud and warlike tone was adopted than that of the Speech. Your Grace is very right in your conclusions; the spirit of the day is much more like 1790 than 1830. It has been gradually growing worse under the rule of Louis Philippe, who slipped into his seat like a thief in the night; who then gave promises which he has since constantly eluded; who, solely intent upon increasing his own power, when his people asked for bread has given them a stone; and who, having himself begun by singing the "Marseillaise," now orders his troops to cut down those who repeat the chorus.

He has rendered France a constant source of anxiety and of expense to her neighbours.

Her *paix armée* will entail upon all Europe the burdensome necessity of great standing armies, which will be worse than real war, because its termination never can be foreseen.

I hear from two or three quarters that suspicions are entertained of the sanity of the Emperor Nicholas.

I have the honour to be, &c.

T. Raikes.

December 8th.

MY DEAR SIR,

The Eastern affair is settling itself. God send that the statesmen of Europe may have the good sense to guide the affairs of their several countries in such a manner, during this armed peace, as that the present tranquillity may not be interrupted! I am afraid that this is late for the post this evening.

Believe me ever, &c.

WELLINGTON.

Paris, December 16th, 1840.

MY LORD DUKE,

I think it will gratify your Grace to hear that the singular and anxious scene of yesterday went off more favourably than could possibly have been expected.*

As soon as it was light, all the inhabitants of Paris were on their way to the scene of march, which extended through the Champs Elysées, from the Pont de Neuilly to the Invalides, and was guarded by a double line of troops from one point to the other. The immense multitude collected on this spot, from the city and from

* The arrival of the ashes of the Emperor Napoleon the First from St. Helena.

all the surrounding country, must have amounted to near a million of souls; and yet, wonderful to relate, the tranquillity of the scene was undisturbed, and the ceremony passed off without the result of even a single accident.

Your Grace will see detailed in the papers the programme of the procession. I will only add, that, although there was an evident intention to give it more a triumphant than a funereal air, it was really a serious and a solemn sight. Some of the people who lined the road, notwithstanding the intense cold, had climbed upon the trees and on the posts, between which immense pots of fire blazed into the frosty air. And when the gorgeous funeral car appeared, followed by the imperial eagles, veiled with crape, a host of ideas, for which I had hardly been prepared, rushed upon the mind. The extraordinary career of the man, to whose tomb at St. Helena this pilgrimage had been made; the countless multitudes assembled to hail the corpse of one whose memory had for twenty-five years been proscribed; the sudden silence; the torrent of heads that followed after, so thick, so close that the earth seemed alive; altogether were of an effect that created a nervous and extraordinary sensation in the mind. All this multitude dispersed afterwards with the utmost tranquillity. Paris was as quiet through the night as if no

occurrence had drawn the inhabitants from their daily occupations. It is true that all the military posts were doubled, and patrols of horse and foot hourly paraded through the streets; but not a cry of disorder was heard, and even a silly Englishman who had thought fit to put on a volunteer uniform was allowed to pass unnoticed, notwithstanding the papers had advised us not to appear.

I have the honour, &c.

T. RAIKES.

I hear the scene at the *débarcadère* at Courbevoie was very striking. When the coffin was borne from the steamer, to be placed on the funeral car, your Grace's friend, the old Marshal Soult, who was waiting, bareheaded, on the shore, prostrated himself before it, and burst into a flood of tears.

Strathfieldsaye, December 16th, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,

Our Ministers have certainly acted from the commencement of the late discussions in France as they would if the alliance with that country was to be perpetual, and the two countries to be allied in war against the other powers of Europe. All Europe was driving away the purchasers

of horses and warlike stores and means and materials for the manufacture thereof; but we made no proposition at all till very lately, and even lately but little, and we allowed the export of horses to be continued. The Government may have been right; they must have known better than I could what the real state of the French preparations, was; but I should think that the most difficult task that Lord Melbourne will have, will be to justify his allowing matters to go so far without putting the country in a state to defend itself.

If the whole world is armed, it will be scarcely possible to avoid coming to blows. Yet, if France makes these large armaments, it must be expected that all Europe will follow the example—the powers of the Continent by land, England at sea.

Ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

Thomas Raikes, Esq.
Paris.

Paris, December 18th, 1840.

MY LORD DUKE,

The peaceful demeanour of the people on the late occasion, doubtless in a certain degree influenced by the overwhelming armed force on the

spot, proves that the excitement in those classes has very sensibly decreased, although the evil yet remains in full force for those who think and reflect for themselves.

It is clear that all the accounts written to England of the attempts made by Princess Lieven to promote a cordiality between France and Russia have come back to that lady's knowledge; and she is now endeavouring to do away with that impression, M. Thiers said to a friend of mine two days ago: "With regard to Russia, if ever she were to offer to us the frontier of the Rhine, on the stipulation that we should aid her in taking possession of Constantinople, I would defy this King or any other, or any Ministry, of any colour, to refuse the proposal. But, above all, there can be no real peace with England, unless some act of conciliation be openly accorded. The most acceptable of all would be the dismissal of Lord Palmerston." (Here he wished to involve his enemy in his own fate.)

"Sir Robert Peel," he said, "is a man like myself, of no rank but from his parliamentary reputation; but, were the Duke of Wellington to offer to France any act of conciliation, it would be received with gratitude." As the friend to whom this was said is a sound Tory, he perfectly agrees in these views, and will be anxious to promote with his political friends an amendment to the Address

in answer to the Queen's Speech, when Parliament meets.

I hear that a letter has been received from Lord Grey, violently disapproving the conduct towards France. But what are we to suppose from the astounding news in the English papers,—that the *déchéance* is still to be enforced? I fear this is some scheme of Russia, who has always cherished a hope that she must ultimately be called in to adjust the question with her own armies, and is now trying to create fresh confusion.

19th.

I had written the above yesterday, without recollecting there was no post. I have been shown this morning a note written by the Duc de Cazes, which says: "On dit beaucoup que la Chambre des Députés diminuera l'effectif d'infanterie, et rejetera l'enceinte continue; laquelle, à cause des indemnités pour servitudes à deux mille mètres par onze lieues de tour, coûterait la rançon d'un roi." This *enceinte continuè* means the line of fortification independent of the *forts détachés;* but, as the contracts have been already made, and the ditches cut in various quarters, it is difficult to see how such a motion can be carried into effect. It shows, however, that the Deputies are beginning to get frightened at the late enormous expenses.

One of the most irritating topics lately retailed by the French newspapers has been the story of a letter written by Lord Melbourne to King Leopold at Brussels, in which he is made to say, that, if France persisted in her hostile armaments, England would take summary measures to *balayer* them at once. Most reasonable people here looked upon this statement as a weak invention of the enemy, to produce irritation against the English name. To some one who, impressed with this conviction, mentioned the subject to M. Cousin, the late Minister of Public Instruction in the Thiers cabinet, that gentleman replied, "I entertained the same opinion myself, until His Majesty placed the identical letter in my hand. I do not recollect the exact expression, because it was written in English, but it was to that effect."

Now that the letter of a Prime Minister, written in these incautious terms, should be sent by a sovereign to his father-in-law, not in the form of a general *résumé* but in the original document, is, it must be allowed, an unjustifiable indiscretion, and can only tend to widen the existing breach between the two countries.

I remain ever, &c.

T. R.

Strathfieldsaye, December 19th, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have received this morning your note of the 16th. I am very happy that this ceremony has passed off so quietly. I cannot think it was so intended by those who suggested it.

It is fortunate that the Allied Governments had the good sense to leave the affair entirely to the French themselves,—to pass it unnoticed. That was not intended by the contriver; and I cannot but believe that there would have been an *émeute*, if circumstances of the moment had not rendered the experiment of an *émeute* one of which the termination would not be quite so certain as its commencement.

Believe me,
Ever yours most faithfully,
WELLINGTON.

T. Raikes, Esq.

Paris, December 21st, 1840.

MY LORD DUKE,

Events multiply, and I continue to write. A most violent and unexpected article against England appeared in the *Débats* on Saturday, which created so much the more anxiety, as that paper is known to be the official organ of the

Château. I sent a copy of it yesterday by the post to your Grace, that you might at once form your own judgment upon it in all its bearings. I have been since shocked to hear, from good authority, that it was written under the immediate dictation of the King, who, alarmed at the economical feeling which was gaining ground among the Deputies (as intimated in the Duc de Cazes' note), and apprehensive that he should lose his darling fortifications, took this method of irritating and frightening his own subjects into the fulfilment of his wishes. It answered his object most completely. On that very day it rallied all the vacillating votes on the question in the *bureaux*, and there is no doubt now, from the complexion of the committee elected, that it will be carried powerfully in the Chamber.

It was nothing to him that he excited, by these means, the bitterest feelings against England, and called forth the most warlike expressions from his own Parliament, at a time when he was himself professing the most anxious wish for peace in the face of Europe. The result has been, as might be expected, a burst of indignation here against *les perfides insulaires* in all ranks and classes of society. The *Moniteur* will detail to your Grace the hostile exuberance during the debates, as also the jesuitical contradiction given by M. Guizot to the assertion

of M. Jaubert concerning Lord Melbourne's letter, which hinged entirely on the word *balayer*, a very easy equivocation, as the letter was written in English, and not addressed to the French Government.

The expense to be incurred by these fortifications, which, like every other public or private undertaking, will of course exceed the original estimates, and more particularly when hurried on at a very costly speed, may safely be put down at from five to six hundred millions, in addition to all the other heavy demands on the public purse, which are now become inevitable. These (whatever may be said to the contrary) they are perfectly competent to supply at this moment, without recurring to the usual resource of raising money by a loan, which would depreciate their credit. They have now two hundred millions in the vaults of the Bank, partly what was left by the Restoration, partly since obtained from the *Caisse d'Amortissement;* and they have also forest lands belonging to the Crown valued at one *milliard*, which would be of easy and immediate sale, as the little proprietors all over the country would be eager and ready to purchase at the first notice.

It is true, that when this resource is once exhausted, the State becomes a beggar; but everything here is *au jour la journée;* and, as

the monarch himself has said, in his philippic of last Saturday, *autre temps autre chances.*

I have the honour to be always, &c.

T. RAIKES.

Strathfieldsaye, December 23. 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am very much obliged to you for your letter, commenced the 18th, and finished the 19th, just received. Its contents are most interesting. It is very difficult for a third party not involved to judge of the real nature of an offence received, even between individuals, still more between nations, not governed as heretofore by Sovereigns and their Ministers, but, as now, by the popular voice, instigated by national and individual vanity and interest, and all the bad passions of the human mind.

I believe I know as much of the Eastern Question as any one individual not concerned in the negotiation of it. There have been many mistakes, and much mismanagement, on both sides, in the negotiation. The original error between England and France, was to suppose that these two nations, both maritime, both commercial, both manufacturing, both having capital, both having and still seeking colonial dependencies,

could be what is termed intimate allies. The intimacy must always have been the same as that between the cat and the mouse; each watching every step of the other, each complaining of every advantage enjoyed, and most particularly of every one taken by the other.

The truth of this Eastern Question is, that both nations were interested in the settlement of it, very much upon the plan stipulated in the Treaty of July, 1840. I am certain of one thing: the Eastern Question never could have been settled, till Mehemet Ali should be turned out of Syria. But both parties, that is to say each of the nations, looked to the acquirement of some advantage in the negotiation and settlement of the question. England has been the successful party. This is the result of which France has to complain; all the rest is matter of form, of which the legislature and people of both countries have a right, an equal right, to complain.

My opinion is, that France and England at peace, respecting each other, and each the rights of the other, are strong enough to preserve the general peace, and to prevent the oppression of the weak of this world by the strong. But if it is endeavoured to carry further the intercourse between these rivals, for everything interesting to the prosperity, the ambition, and the vanity

of a nation, they must quarrel, and their quarrel must deluge the world in blood.

Nobody knows better than I do, the lady whom you mention. She can and she will betray everybody in turn, if it should suit her purpose.

Ever yours sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

To Thomas Raikes, Esq.
Paris.

Paris, 24th December, 1840.

MY LORD DUKE,

I am sorry to say that things here look daily worse. The signs of a sullen rancour against England are to be read impressed on all classes and ranks. What has England gained in all this? It is true she has battered St. Jean d'Acre to powder, and has crippled and humbled the old Pacha, who, could we dive into futurity, might have proved a better barrier against Russian ambition than his effeminate youthful master.

And, on the other hand, what has she lost? She has forfeited the friendship of civilization, in order to shake hands with barbarism. She has strangled in the bud a treaty of commerce with France, which would have greatly benefited her trade; and has ratified another with Russia, which will exclude her for ever from the Black Sea. She has diminished her moral influence over a

neighbour who recognised with admiration the superior progress made by her in science and liberal institutions; becoming the willing tool of a distant encroaching Power, to whom her known superiority is gall and wormwood, and who will never forget the Belgian Question, the Spanish Question, the Quadruple Treaty, and all the revolutionary quirks and quibbles, for which her objects once answered. We shall see whether the Russian ivy does not attempt to choke the British oak. Then she is left impoverished and exhausted to the tender mercies of her new ally. I feel here in a position that sanctions the advice of the philosopher, who remarks, that a man should live with his friends as if they were one day to be his enemies. Belgium now affects to arm—and her forces are to amount to 80,000 men—at the bidding of France.

M. Humann seems to have decided that he will not kill the goose with the golden eggs, by selling the forest Crown lands, which are very productive in their yearly cuttings and falls; but will make a loan shortly of eighteen millions of *rentes*, which is equivalent to as many pounds sterling.

I have the honour to remain,

&c. &c. &c.

T. RAIKES.

Strathfieldsaye, December 24th, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,

I thank you for your letter of the 21st inst. Its contents are calculated to astound anybody who feels as I do for the public interest and for the peace of the world; however, I don't despair yet. I think that, when the situation of the two countries comes to be considered, the strong interest which both have in the continuance of peace will be felt. The paragraphs in newspapers in both countries will be laid aside as unworthy of consideration, and, in truth, as having no direct influence on the question of peace or war; and we shall, I hope, find cause enough in both countries to avoid the calamities to which it would appear that we are exposed.

I will do everything I can in Parliament and elsewhere to maintain a tone of moderation.

Believe me,

Ever yours most faithfully,

WELLINGTON.

Thos. Raikes, Esq.
Paris.

Strathfieldsaye, December 27th, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your letter of the 24th has reached me this morning, and I am very much obliged to you

for it. In my last I told you what I thought of our relations. I think it will soon be discovered that there is no cause of war, or even of coldness, between the two countries. But we may do to each other, and the world, a great deal of injury by our quarrels; and thus we shall do better to remain upon terms. I do not mean, as if we were lovers; but as two nations which respect each other, or even as two individuals. The armed peace, as it is called, is nonsense. What individual or company in either country can undertake to carry into execution any speculation or enterprise, however simple and legitimate! The difficulties resulting from this state of things will fall much more heavily upon France—the poorer country, with less capital and credit, and the one the least prepared for extended naval operations, which are those that will do the mischief. Really men of sense, who govern countries, should consider these circumstances. Every shilling of capital in France will be locked up and returned to the bowels of the earth before we have had the armed peace for a year.

Believe me,

Ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

Paris, December 29th, 1840.

My Lord Duke,

If, according to your Grace's opinion, which is, in fact, undeniable, England and France united are strong enough to preserve the general peace, and to prevent "the oppression of the weak of this world by the strong," it stands to reason that they might have settled the Eastern Question together in the spirit of Russia, and have avoided all the late reciprocal dissension, exasperations, and hostile feelings, which now threaten to deluge Europe with blood.

But Lord Palmerston had previously bound himself by the Treaty of Unkia Skelèssi to admit a Russian interference in the East, under certain contingencies; and when that crisis did arrive, signed another treaty with his more wily opponent, (in order to neutralize the first,) which has entailed upon the world consequences that his policy seems to scarcely have anticipated.

It is going over the old ground to say, that Russia was only intent on separating these two great nations. She saw her way clear enough; otherwise she would never have given up the positive advantages, already assured to her in the East by this treaty of Unkia Skelessi, which were so notorious, that scarce a session of Parliament has since occurred without their forming

a source of accusation against the Minister who allowed their admission. The mad invective of *John Bull*, that proposes to raze Paris, and partition France, was cited on Saturday by M. Mauguin, in his defence of the Abbé de Lamennais before the tribunals. It will thus be reported in every French paper, and read in every department. Who can then wonder if the English name is anathematised?

I have now ascertained that strong remonstrances have been made by the representatives of Austria and Prussia to this Court, on the subject of the armed preparations going on in France. To these M. Guizot *pretends* here that he has given a dignified reply, suited to the character and grandeur of the French nation; but there is no doubt that he has entrusted M. de St. Aulaire at Vienna, and M. Bresson at Berlin, to implore forbearance for the moment, on the ground that in the present excited state of the nation, it is impossible for any Ministry to discontinue these armaments without risking consequences still more dangerous to the peace of Europe.

It was observed to M. de Cazes (who is not a Minister), that our Government observed with much uneasiness the great activity which still prevailed in the French dockyards; that any maritime preparations become a question so in-

teresting, not only to the English Government, but also to the English nation at large; that a rising jealousy at home will shortly bring on very disagreeable explanations between the two countries. This unofficial hint was given as to a friend, that it might be reported to a higher quarter. M. Thiers is elected reporter on the committee for the fortifications, and we are to hear some serious disclosures. He looks to war as his great resource, and he foments the animosity against England through the press and in the Chamber.

Count R. Appony, who was well aware of all the circumstances of the Melbourne letter, told me that the reason of its finding its way to the hands of Louis Philippe was, that Leopold's father-in-law would not believe anything he asserted without an undeniable voucher. The duplicity of Louis Philippe is amply inherited by his son, the Duke of Orleans, who is wanting in the talent of concealment. He has had the *naïveté* to go first to M. Thiers, and assure him that he quite agreed with his policy, that he sympathised with him, and, whenever his time should come, would again have recourse to his counsels. He has visited M. Molé and told him that he looked up to his judgment as the polar star of France, and he never fails to congratulate

M. Guizot on the wisdom with which he strives to surmount the present difficulties.

It is so completely in the character of Louis Philippe to have brought up his son in his own principles, to have taught him that mankind could only be governed by deceit, that no one can be surprised at the result of his lessons on a mind not endowed with superior acuteness, which, like all other minds of that stamp, is prone to mistake cunning for wisdom. With all this, the Duke has made no real friends, nor is said to be popular with his own household.

Mr. Humann has twice been on the point of resigning his post, and was only counter-persuaded by the King, although he is a decided opponent to the other's darling project of the fortifications. He is disgusted with the financial embarrassments which beset him, and looks upon that project as the rock upon which he is doomed to split.

The loan will be, as I said, to the extent of four hundred millions in money, which he at first conceived an idea that he might raise by a subscription loan of five per cents. at par, as he thought was the mode in England; whereas, even there, it was only attempted once, in what was called the Loyalty Loan, which nearly ruined all the subscribers. So little do these novices know

of English financial operations. He must now make it in three per cents., which he hopes will be taken at seventy-three; though, if a war should really take place, we should see them very soon under sixty. As to English subscribers, I should hope that would be out of the question.

I remain, &c.

T. RAIKES.

Strathfieldsaye, January 1, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,

I return many thanks for your letter of the 29th December. I am much concerned to hear of and observe the acrimonious violence in relation to England which prevails in France. The press in both countries is very bad, and does much mischief; but that in England is innocent in comparison with that in France.

We can say with truth that no eminent man in England interferes in the press; whereas in France every Minister, every man of eminence, of all parties, has his newspaper—each of them more violent against this country. It is very true that England and France might alone have settled the question of the Levant, but not permanently without an understanding with Russia. But, unfortunately, France never enters into the

discussion of any question of general interest without a bias upon some national interest unconnected with the object in view, and, above all, with the legitimate and ancient interests of England. France could not, and would not, settle the Levant Question without looking to her objects in Egypt, Candia, &c. England has nothing, nor a desire to have anything, to say to either; but she cannot see these possessions fall into the hands of a rival Power consistently with her interests in Asia. You are mistaken respecting the Russian desire to maintain the treaty of Unkia Skelessi: that arrangement was very inconvenient to Russia, because she never could be on terms with either of the maritime Powers, particularly not with England, so long as that treaty should subsist. But it was absolutely necessary for Russia to settle the affairs of the Black Sea, at the same time with the general affairs of the Levant. It was, therefore, that I say, it was necessary to reckon with Russia in the Levant affair. Indeed, the maritime Powers could not consider the Levant affair settled so long as the treaty of Unkia Skelessi should subsist. God knows how all these affairs are to end. But it is quite clear to me that these disputes are to be attributed to the growth of the democratic power in both countries; and the mode of carrying it on the natural

result of its success. I am afraid that the only road out is by extreme measures.

With many thanks for your kind wishes upon the return of the season, and heartily wishing you many happy returns,

Believe me, ever

Yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

Paris, January 6th, 1841.

MY LORD DUKE,

The weather has been so boisterous of late, that our communication with England has been stopped during two days. I did not receive either of your Grace's letters till last night. Things remain here much as when I last wrote; the papers are perhaps a shade less violent—more from exhaustion than want of will. They must coin fresh expressions for their spleen, as those in general use are completely worn out.

We had a violent *bourrasque* last week at the Academy, on the occasion of M. Molé's reception; when M. Dupin made a pointed appeal to the passions of his audience, by dwelling on the expulsion of the English from France during the reign of Charles VII. It was received with the most enthusiastic vivats and plaudits from the whole assembly, which comprised *toute la bonne compagnie de*

Paris, male and female. The duchesses and fine ladies vied with the rest in cheers, waving their embroidered handkerchiefs; but I think they have since shown some symptoms of regret for their violence, and tried to palliate it. When the circumstance was reported to the King, he said, "I can account for the animosity of M. Jaubert "against the English, because he has a sort of "crotchet in his head, that his father was killed "by a cannon-ball in some naval engagement "with a British vessel; although it is well "known that he tumbled overboard and was "drowned. But *le Père Dupin est mort tran-* "*quillement dans son lit à Clamécy*, and I see "no reason for his son's great irritation."

Les grandes dames are indeed very violent against us. When Mde. de —— came to town a fortnight ago, she said, "Je suis trop bonne Française pour aller chez l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre." But when Lady Granville gave some private theatricals, her curiosity was greater than her patriotism, and she was one of the first arrivals. The King, notwithstanding his dislike to the individual, used all his influence to get M. Thiers placed on the committee for the fortifications, because he knew that he was a great advocate for the measure. It was then thought that it must be carried; but opinions have since changed; the enormous expense stares the Depu-

ties in the face; and very serious doubts are now felt as to its ultimate success.

I hear from good authority, that a note has been received from London, couched in very conciliating terms, and regretting the isolation on which France has thought fit voluntarily to place herself. This is coupled with the assertion that M. Guizot has returned a civil but cool reply, that France would prefer to receive such a communication jointly from the Four Powers, and not alone from England. This is supposed to originate in some flattering expressions lately used towards France by the Russian Cabinet.

M. Dedel has written to Fagel, that the Autocrat has addressed an autograph letter to the Queen, congratulating her on the success of her arms in the East, and regretting that his own troops have not had the same opportunity of distinguishing themselves. This again is interpreted into a feeling of discontent at the preponderance of England.

We are all anxiety here about the Speech on the opening of Parliament; it is hoped that this opportunity of saying something soothing to French feelings will not again be omitted. We hear that no amendment to the Address will be moved, unless by the Radical section of the House; in which case Lord Palmerston will probably have an immense majority in favour of his

foreign policy, which, by implication, will be very unpalatable here.

The Guizot Ministry is considered very unstable; the attempt at disarmament seems beyond their power, but they really wish to maintain peace; and I hope the vast preparations now making at home will convince this nation, that if they choose to throw down the glove, it will be taken up with vigour.

Your Grace has rather misunderstood my meaning about the treaty of Unkia Skelessi. I did not mean that Russia desired to maintain it, but that she made a merit of resigning it, in order that Lord Palmerston might more readily fall into her views of signing that of July, which suited her better, because it was a brand of discord thrown at once between England and France.

I remain, &c.

T. RAIKES.

Paris, January 17th, 1841.

MY LORD DUKE,

If M. Guizot can retain his place, we may arrive by degrees at a peaceful solution of the question; but we never can be sure from one day to another that some underhand manœuvre

in a higher quarter may not *déjouer* all our hopes.

M. Molé would be next on the list, whose policy is not supposed to be English, though he has lately made in private an assertion to the contrary. The very circumstance of a change would give fresh spirits to the war party; and should that last prop be forced to give way, there will then be nothing left but M. Thiers and war, with revolution. He is now working hard at his project of the fortifications, exaggerating the advantages and diminishing the estimates, in order to suit his views, as your Grace will have observed by his speech in the *Moniteur*.

The other avails himself eagerly of his aid to accomplish what is the summit of his wishes; and, although well aware of all the menaces and insult which he daily utters, invited him to dinner on Thursday, with a large party of the Deputies.

Opinions are still at variance as to the success of the bill in the Chambers; but the majority seem to think it will be carried. A lithographic map of the plans has been printed for the private information of the Deputies, of which I have been able to procure one, which I enclose, as I think it may be agreeable to your Grace, and will be more interesting and clear than anything that I can write on the subject.

The *désarmement* continues still to be the great *pierre d'achoppement*—not as to the measure itself (of which all must feel the necessity), but as to who shall set the first example. There is no doubt that France, who first began to arm, should be the first to disarm; but her froward children will not hear of it.

The fortification question is now formally submitted to the Chamber, and, to use a common phrase, it is even betting how it will be decided. Marshal Soult is decidedly opposed to it. The King asked him the other day to give him an outline of his speech on the subject, which he declined. But the most remarkable thing is, that His Majesty himself is no longer so anxious to carry the point as he has hitherto shown himself to be. The *forts détachés*, as planned under his original directions, were the object of his most sanguine wishes; but they are now removed to such a distance that they would no longer answer his real aim of overawing the capital; and the *enceinte continue*, if occupied by the rabble, might become as serviceable to them as to his own troops.

As he naturally feels that his real enemies are here, and not abroad, this disappointment makes him more indifferent as to the result in its present shape. The debates will be very tedious, and probably last for the next week or ten days.

I was told by —— that the notes from London are intolerant and unconciliating, insisting rigidly on the discontinuation of the armaments, without any consideration for the critical position in which the Guizot Cabinet is placed, and its inability to enforce such measures at the present moment. Those from Vienna and Berlin were described as written in a very different strain, entering into the feelings of the French Government, and admitting the necessity of a large armed force in France till more favourable times should permit a reduction.

I addressed some inquiries, however, to M. Thom* on this subject, who candidly assured me that he has read these notes himself, and that they by no means bore this interpretation: the style was certainly more conciliating than that of Lord Palmerston, but they strongly suggested a reduction of 100,000 men from the present enrolments, which might leave the army still at a *chiffre* of 380,000 to 400,000 men—a force, perhaps, not too exaggerated when the constant drain of troops for Algiers is taken into consideration. The occupation of this colony now requires 70,000 men.

The general animosity against England remains in full force; she has been the cause of much unnecessary humiliation to the French

* The Austrian Secretary.

nation, and they look forward to a war with her as the only atonement.

Changarnier and some of the leading colonels in Algiers have been raised to the rank of generals; they are mostly young men, formed into excellent officers by that nursery of warfare, where the hardships and climate gradually destroy the privates.

Affairs in the East seem to present fresh difficulties. Syria is a prey to anarchy and confusion; the Druses and mountaineers wage indiscriminate hostilities, now that they are relieved from the galling but salutary yoke of the Pacha, which will be but ill replaced by the presence of Ottoman troops. There will be but few visitors to the Holy Cities for some time to come. In the meantime the Sultan, urged doubtless by a secret influence, though he allows the *hérédité* to the Pacha, wishes to deprive him of the command of his own troops—a stretch of power which may produce further difficulties, if not repressed by the Four Powers, as the next step would probably be the bowstring.

23rd.

Last evening, in the Chamber, Marshal Soult ascended the tribune, and announced his intention to vote for the Commission. He then employed every possible argument against the bill;

then gave his vote in favour of it, but with the addition that the simultaneous execution of the works should be left to the discretion of the Government, *i. e.* that the detached forts be erected forthwith, and the continued line left to its fate. The whole is a plot hatched at the Tuileries, by which the Sovereign may be enabled, at any and all times, to hem in his loving subjects.

The *Extrème Gauche* are irritated by this attempt of the Government to overreach them; but as the only real influence of Louis Philippe is in the Chamber, through offices, pensions, and places, he may yet engage their support.

To prove to your Grace that I am taking no poetical licence in what I say, I shall beg to tell you, that after the wonderful majority obtained by M. Thiers in March last, the King actually complained to Edward Ellice (from whom I heard it), of the difficulty under which he laboured, in satisfying the craving demands made upon him for place, preferment, or emolument of some sort or other.

I have the honour to remain, &c.

T. RAIKES.

25th.

The Marshal's speech, which could not be misunderstood, set both the *rapporteur* and the

Government at their wits' ends. They said that the bill would probably be lost.

The Marshal, after the debate, was attacked on all sides for his indiscretion. On the following day M. Thiers assured the House that the Marshal had since met the Commissioner, and that there was no difference of opinion between the members composing it and the Government. It must, therefore, have been a misunderstanding of the Deputies as to the real meaning of the Marshal's speech. To prove, he quoted the words of the *Moniteur* which he held in his hand, as the only official record of the debates, and their sole reference. Now, the *Moniteur* reported the speech in a very different way from that which had been uttered; and a precedent is cited in the instance of Mr. Canning, who, on one memorable occasion, had recourse to the same expedient. The Deputies are so perplexed, they hardly know what they vote for; and one of them told me he thought there would be a majority for fortifications, armaments, &c. of about twenty-five voices.

The Government begin to quake, and will not last long. The more I see and hear of this measure, the more I am impressed with the conviction that it is an imposition on the country; and, even in case of an invasion, would entail serious consequences on the Parisians themselves.

Paris, January 30th, 1841.

My Lord Duke,

I am afraid that they are at their old tricks again—of opening letters; as that which I had the honour of sending to your Grace on Saturday ought certainly to have been delivered on the Monday. I only hope my comments amuse them.

The appearance of the Speech without any reference to France, excited much bitterness, although, in the present state of feeling here, any flattering or conciliating allusion would have been deemed ironical, and viewed in a jaundiced light. Perhaps it is for the best. Only M. Guizot, who, in spite of his own convictions, still cherished a latent hope that, even at the eleventh hour, something palateable might be inserted, could not conceal his disappointment. He had kept a boat waiting at Dover, and relays of postilions ready on the Calais road, in order to have a disagreeable intelligence half an hour sooner than the rest of the world!

There is only one opinion about your Grace's speech in the House of Lords, and it has been received with gratitude by all the well-meaning and sensible men here. From the tone which seems generally to prevail in Parliament (so different from that which has ruled in the Cham-

bers here) I trust that we may augur well for a future, though gradual, conciliation.

I received a letter yesterday from Rokeby, at Vienna, in which he says: "The successes in Syria have established Metternich on his throne here more firmly than he has been for some time past. He would have been in a tottering state had events taken a different turn. The patriotic blood of Germany is up, and the union complete—all great results of the very rash, but successful game we have been playing."

Lord Granville allowed that at one time the Prince had nearly been supplanted by Kolowroth. Does not this seem to corroborate what I wrote in August last? Tattischeff had great difficulty in forcing Prince Metternich into signing the treaty—of which the latter foresaw a different result, and consequent discomfiture to himself.

The debates still continue on the Fortification Bill, which has many crack-brained adherents, who think they spite and defy Europe by voting for forts to enslave themselves. It is very uncertain still whether M. Guizot will be able to stand: the loss of this bill would swamp him, and the success will not strengthen him, because it will be said, *tulit alter honores.*

As England does not even lend him a helping sentence in the Speech, or show him any sympathy, his position may be deemed more pre-

carious. At the same time, Lord Palmerston's explanations on this subject cannot but be deemed satisfactory.

I have the honour to be always,

&c. &c. &c.

T. R

London, February 1st, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have this day received your letter of the 30th. I generally answer your letter on the day that I receive it; but there is always a little irregularity in our communications in this country, on account of our making Sunday a *dies non* in London, and here only; other days are so made—in each place a different one, depending upon its post communication with London.

Some time must elapse before the different nations of the world will resume their usual security, and we shall be put to much expense. But I hope that it will all come right at last.

I am very much obliged to you for your letters. We may occasionally take different views of things; but I feel that mine are greatly enlightened by what you write me, and I am most grateful.

I sincerely wish that this fortification scheme may turn out advantageous to the King and to

his dynasty. I am apprehensive, however, that there is a little too much of party in the support of the measure, a part of which is supposed to be personally wished by the King. It is not very usual that such a measure produces results favourable to tranquillity.

The Turkish-Egyptian affair appears to be drawing to a termination—at least, for the present.

Ever yours, &c.

WELLINGTON.

Two or three hours after writing this letter, the Duke was seized in the House of Lords with an attack of giddiness. He rose from his seat, but was unable to walk into the lobby without the assistance of Lord Redesdale and the Duke of Richmond, who flew to his assistance. He was immediately conveyed to Apsley House, and for some hours was in a state to cause much anxiety; but before eleven o'clock he had retired to rest, and gradually recovered.—ED.

Paris, February 2nd, 1841.

MY LORD DUKE,

On Saturday evening the Chambers rejected General Schneider's amendment on the Fortification Bill, by a majority of sixty-six balls; it

was therefore a matter quite to be expected that the bill itself should be carried, which it was yesterday, by a majority of 237 against 162. Thus has an act of folly been accomplished, which will, under any circumstances, be a heavy charge upon the country. It was supported by the war party here as a menace to foreign powers; and by the King, as a means of keeping his turbulent subjects in order. If it should ever be executed, which is very doubtful in a country where enthusiasm soon evaporates, it may be found to answer neither purpose. Great jealousy was shown in the debates as to what is called the *simultanéité* of the works; but, as it is allowed that the execution will include a space of five years, who can tell, in the present state of Europe, what events may occur in such a protracted period? No one here imagines that peace can last.

I am glad to see that the *hérédité* of the Pacha has been acknowledged by the Porte, and that the Turkish fleet has been restored; but the accounts from Spain continue to be very perplexing.

Montrond, who has just seen the King, told me that he was very much gratified by the debates in Parliament. And the *Journal des Débats*, in consequence, writes in very conciliatory terms about England; but there is a party here, among whom is M. Thiers, who remain sullen,

and will see nothing in a frank and friendly view. Their organ, the *National*, is indignant that no attack has been made on the English Government, and no apology offered to France; but the fact is, that nothing will please them.

M. Guizot's Cabinet will probably now last through the session, unless, indeed, the master should find it convenient to get rid of him, in order to carry some new project, as the Machiavellian principle is so strong in that quarter that it sticks at nothing.

The question of electoral reform, which has been superseded by the late excitement, will shortly be revived again; and, if M. Thiers can persuade the King that he and M. Odillon Barrot have alone the power to stifle that cry, all past misdemeanours and insults will be forgotten.

In reference to what I wrote to your Grace of Saturday, we have had, within the last three or four months, two different reports in the papers, of an engagement between an English and French ship near Aden, which have never been confirmed, but which most probably originated in the idea that some opposition had been made by one of our cruizers to this Bordeaux speculation.

I have been much amused by hearing a speech of the King which tallies with the general impression of his Majesty. Talking to Montalivet

of the fortifications, he said, "Voyez donc ce fort du Calvaire; c'est un bienfait du sort pour moi. Placé comme il est entre Neuilly et St. Cloud, s'il commence à faire chaud, je me retirerai là; j'y serai invulnérable."

I remain,

&c. &c. &c.

T. RAIKES.

Paris, February 6th, 1841.

MY LORD DUKE,

Darmez, the assassin who in October last made an attempt on the life of the King, is confined in the Conciergerie, and subjected to the prison discipline; but no preparations are as yet apparently made for his trial. The system enforced in such cases is this:—

The prisoner is at first treated with the greatest indulgence; nothing that he desires is refused him; the Chancellor and the Grand Refererdary visit him, and the people about him are attentive to his wishes, and anxious to converse with him. This is called the process of *kindness*; and if it fails to work upon the culprit's gratitude, and to produce the discovery of his plot or accomplices, recourse is then had to the process of *reduction*. He receives little or no nutriment, is frequently bled, and never allowed to go to sleep; his

strength is sapped away by inches; and if in this exhausted state he makes no revelations, a third experiment is tried—the process of *excitement*. Wine and spirituous liquors are administered, *bon gré mal gré*; he is kept in a state of constant intoxication, in hopes that his incoherent replies may give some clue to his secret thoughts. Thus, the physical powers are tortured and perverted to weaken the firmness of the moral.

I know not which process has succeeded in this case; but it certainly is a fact, that important discoveries have been made by such means, and, among others, that of a secret society in France called Des Communes. It is a remnant of the two old Droits de l'Homme, and Aide toi, le Ciel t'aidera, from whence the more reasonable members had retired by degrees, and the lower caste of ruffians had remained united under another name. There the plot of assassination is laid down, and lots are drawn for the execution. The member on whom this lot falls, if he refuse to undertake the mission, is soon after privately despatched; if he consents, the arm entrusted to him is probably charged by a superior, who loads it in such a manner that it shall destroy both the assassin and his victim. Darmez only lost his hand; Fieschi was sorely mutilated by the same contrivance of Morey.

Many arrests have taken place here, among

others that of the man who bought the carbine; but, as they will probably all be amnestied, it would have been more judicious to have made one solemn example, and merely keep a watchful eye on the rest.

I am sorry to say that M. Guizot is not only hurt by Lord Palmerston's want of forbearance, but is becoming daily more desirous to retaliate. The proposal to renew the Commercial Treaty was politely but coldly declined. I believe the answer was, "Ce n'est pas le moment." I am not acquainted with the terms of the treaty, but I conclude that they were as beneficial to France as to England, or they never would have been allowed; *ergo*, it was no favour that we asked, and the failure could only originate in a feeling of resentment excited by the English Government ever since the accession of the present Ministry, who certainly at first were disposed to soothe and mollify all the late exasperation. Montrond told me yesterday that M. de St. Aulaire will shortly be sent to London, and the King has appointed Flahault to Vienna, where he wished to go.

There has been some report current that the Chambre des Pairs may throw out the Fortification Bill; and if it had been carried by a small majority in that of the Deputies, this might have been the case; but as the matter stands, they

dare not make any such attempt. General Duc de la Brunerie, the first engineer officer in France after Haxo and Regniat, is president of the Commission of Defence of the kingdom. He was violently opposed to the *enceinte continue*, and as his opinion was known to have great weight with all military men, it became a great object to obtain his assent to the project. He was lately closeted with the King for two hours, who besought him with so much earnestness to yield the point—saying, "If I have not the *enceinte* I must inevitably lose my forts,"—that he at last yielded, in spite of his own convictions; and his friends, who knew his real views, have since severely commented on his weakness.

This adhesion to a measure on which opinions vary much as to its utility (even in the sense in which the King contemplates it), seems almost a *monomanie;* very little attention, and still less credit, is given to the autograph letters published here by the Carlist party: the forgery is proved at once by the expression of "Mon cher Perigord," which the writer never would have used to Prince Talleyrand.

There is, indeed, another set of letters from Sicily, which were lithographed in London some time back, and contain very serious matter for reflection; but these were all bought up diligently by M. Thiers, when minister, for the King. He

has probably kept a copy for his own use, which may some day see the light. His motto is, "Everything for the King when in office; everything against him when in Opposition;" and the signal for his return to power will be, as it always has been, the moment when he becomes too dangerous in Opposition to be resisted.

This moment, I am sorry to say, may not be very far distant, and I hope Lord Palmerston may not accelerate it.

I remain, &c.

T. RAIKES.

London, February 11th, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,

I was not able to acknowledge the receipt of your letter immediately, as I was suffering from the effects of the extraordinary cold here in the end of last week. But I have since got quite well again.

We are still in an extraordinary state, and I shall think it fortunate, if we shall finally avoid a collision with our unquiet neighbours.

Believe me, &c.

WELLINGTON.

Paris, February 11th, 1841.

My Lord Duke,

I am most happy to hear that the general anxiety felt for your Grace's late indisposition is entirely dissipated.

I hear that, even to the last hour, Lord Ponsonby made every opposition to the *déchéance* of the Pacha; so much so, that the representatives of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, at the Porte, became very indignant, and the former wrote a sharp remonstrance on the subject to his own court, as well as to London.

It is evident here that the French Government has no intention to disarm; the new ordinances concerning the reserve, and the duration of service, rather tend to augment the army beyond the *chiffre* first contemplated: it will now amount to 530,000 men. The answer given to foreign Powers on this subject is, "We are obliged to act as we do; but you are at liberty to increase your forces if you think proper, and we shall never ask any questions."

Thus, all Europe is compelled to incur a great unnecessary expense, because the French Government is too weak to act according to its own real judgment. This is nothing new; it has been the invariable system with all Ministers here since the Revolution of July. All they

can say is, "Have patience with us; we feel and know what is right, but we are ruled by the mob, and dare not practise it." By and by they will say, "We beg your pardon, but we are forced to go to war with you."

I have had much conversation with Walewski about the East, where his mission was not attended with much success. He assured me that Thiers, notwithstanding all the difficulties he had previously raised in hopes to defeat the project, if he had known or could have foreseen that the final execution of it was really so near at hand, would never have allowed the Treaty to be signed, without himself becoming a party to it. This is always a *post facto* assertion, and may be taken for what it is worth.

The news from America, which is considered at our Embassy as of a very grave and serious character, has not as yet been much noticed here; but, should the discussion with Forsyth become more warlike, it is impossible to say, in the present exasperated state of feeling against England, what line the French Government may be disposed to adopt. Any idea of a war between England and America would be hailed with great delight, and M. Thiers has already expressed his gratification at such a probability.

There certainly is an impression gaining ground here, that an Amendment will be moved in the

Chamber of Peers on the Fortification Bill; at any rate, the minority will be much larger than has hitherto been expected.

There may be some feeling of vanity in all this among the noble members; as it is said, that, when His Majesty Louis Philippe was told that they might object to his bill, he burst out a-laughing, and treated the idea with contempt.

With the sincerest wishes for the speedy re-establishment of your Grace's health,

I have the honour, &c.

T. RAIKES.

London, February 13th, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,

I was affected by the extraordinary severity of the weather in the end of last week. But there was very little the matter with me, and I have been quite well since last Saturday.

I very much fear the consequences of these large armaments. It would almost appear that it was the interest of France to recommence the war in Europe!

17th.

I am under the necessity of going out of town, in order to receive the Judges of Assize at my

house in Hants; but I will not lose a moment in thanking you for your note of the 15th, this moment received.

Believe me,

Ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

T. Raikes, Esq.
à Paris.

Paris, February 15th, 1841

MY LORD DUKE,

I was extremely happy to hear of your returning health, and trust your late indisposition has now quite subsided. Peers and Deputies here both continue to be sincerely alarmed at the enormous expenses to be incurred. But the Peers, as a body, have little weight. They are mere organs of the Executive—chiefly without landed property or local interest—holding their titles merely for life. They naturally follow in the track of the other Chamber, because the act of ratification is the semblance of power within their reach. Some of the most influential members are, without doubt, violently opposed to the Fortifications.

The Chancellier Pasquier has said upon this measure: "C'est un crime: une mesure inutile,

"qui jeta le desordre dans les finances d'un pays, "ne peut être autrement désigné."

The Duke of Orleans the other day went round to various Peers in the Chamber, questioning one after the other as to their opinion on the bill, openly making a little memorandum in his pocket-book of what they had replied—as much as to say, "Such will be their vote, such will be our "conduct in return."

The King desires the preservation of peace, as synonymous with the preservation of his throne. He has incurred immense expenses at Versailles, Fontainebleau, &c. The Civil List is at this moment sixty millions in debt. Almost all his quarrels with, or separations from, his Ministers, arise from this source. He has compiled above fifty projects of private ways and means to fill his coffers. Appanages for children; exchanges of forest lands for others belonging to the Crown, which have a benefit in his favour; inspections of public works, which give him a surplus on the grants, &c.

These demands and expenditures have driven M. Humann to his wit's end, and hence the daily reports of his resignation, and a break-up of the Cabinet. He is not a bad guardian of the public purse. The King said of him, "C'est un vrai Cerbère assis sur la Caisse;" and, indeed, he must have a bitter time of it.

The Royal family and Court party are now so confident of passing the bill, that they no longer think disguise at all necessary; and your Grace will hardly believe that, the other day, when the son of the late Baron de Talleyrand, a young man of ability, who has been appointed *attaché* to the Embassy at Vienna, called on Madame Adelaide previous to his departure to ask her commands, that Her Royal Highness said to him, "You will say at Vienna, "that we are enchanted to have carried the point "of the Fortifications. We know we have no right "to the post we hold, but are determined to main- "tain it, and have taken such measures as will pre- "clude our undergoing the same fate as that "of the exiled family."

Indeed, I hear that in the garrison towns great pains are taken to keep up a bad feeling between the soldier and the bourgeois. Officers seldom return home at night without drawn swords, from the apprehension of a surprise. Louis Philippe probably thinks that he is following the example of Napoleon, in founding his power upon military despotism, forgetting that he has not the prestige of military glory to make it endurable to the nation. I have always wondered that this Revolution was a subject so little understood in England. I argue the point for ever with Charles Greville, who persists in maintaining its glorious

results! Whatever they may be, it is certain that patriotism is a word this Government has expunged from the French dictionary.

I remain, &c.

T. RAIKES.

Paris, February 22nd, 1841.

MY LORD DUKE,

I was glad to see that your Grace had received my last letter before your departure for Hants. I cannot pretend to give much valuable information to one so intimately acquainted with the politics of Europe; but, as society here is chiefly diplomatic, and even with others more interest is shown on these subjects than is the case in England, and general conversation is handled with so much more spirit, it is simple enough that anecdotes and ideas are often broached by intelligent people, which serve to corroborate facts and give a fair clue to passing events.

The Fortification Bill will not be decided in the Peers under three weeks at least. Marshal Soult said yesterday to General Ornano, "J'ai "deux manches: comme ministre je suis pour le "bill; comme militaire, je suis contre."

The following information was given me last night by one of the most intelligent men in France—a man of independent fortune, rational

in all his views, and biassed by no ultra-political feelings on either side. He described to me the despicable state of the Chamber of Deputies under the present system, guided solely by petty private interests, and open to bribery in every shape. "The King," said he, "if he were not so "chary of his money, might have a large majority "on any question if he pleased." The census is so low, notwithstanding the confined electoral system, that many of the Deputies from the provinces are in very needy circumstances; they can barely afford the expense of a journey to Paris, much less that of their stay during the meeting. Such men are always on the watch to sell their votes; a sum of even five hundred francs will often decide them to support any measure; and when the case is urgent the Government, by the aid of money, can always carry their point. One-half of the deputies who carried the late bill voted against their real opinions. "You talk," said he, "of the profligate times of "Sir Robert Walpole in England; but here the "venality is more contemptible, because the times "are more enlightened, the bribes are more in-"significant, and the corruption more general."

The primary object of Louis Philippe is to gain money, and his accession to the throne was a mere commercial speculation. In other monarchies, the private property of the Sovereign is blended

with his royal appanage to support the splendour and dignity of his crown; but Louis Philippe was determined from the beginning to gain all he could, and give nothing in return. He was elected King of the French on the 7th August. On the previous day (the 6th) he made over, by a deed drawn up by Dupin the lawyer, all his private property, as Duke of Orleans, being five millions per annum, to his own children, reserving the usufruct to himself. He enjoys the income of the Duc d'Aumale (acquired from the Prince de Condé) till his majority; and his civil list is from twelve to fourteen millions per ann. With these colossal means the whole study of his life is, to throw, by every manœuvre, his own incidental expenses on the shoulders of the nation.

It would seem that affairs are likely to take a more pacific turn if seconded by the British Cabinet. I have seen one or two prefects, who say, that they have received, privately, orders from head-quarters not to press the levies of their contingent in the departments; and Marshal Soult has also made a communication to the Committee on the Budget, by which the demand for 1842 will be reduced twenty-three millions. All this may give reason to hope for a return to more rational conduct.

It is also whispered, in certain *salons*, that a

note has been received from Austria, relating to some settlement of affairs in the East, under the joint protection of all the *five Powers*. This, if satisfactorily managed, might set matters straight again, *sauf* the heartburnings which will for some time to come smoulder in the ashes.

I remain, &c.

T. RAIKES.

London, February 25th, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,

The affairs of the world are certainly in a curious state. What you represent is the natural consequence of pushing principles to extremities. Those who originally take the lead in the discussion lose all control. It falls into other and those lower hands; these connive at corruption, faction, and the evils which we see prevailing everywhere. In truth, the establishment of corruption, if not the object of the first leaders in these democratic revolutions, was certainly that of those of a secondary class; and it must be admitted, that of them all, it is the only remedy for the evils of confusion and anarchy, which must exist till its power should prevail.

In respect of the administration of patronage, we are gone back here more than a century.

But we have not, and I think it probable that we never shall have, the means of checking the mischief of anarchy—not, at least, elsewhere.

I cannot express to you how interested I feel in all that you write me.

Believe me, &c.

WELLINGTON.

Paris, February 27th, 1841.

MY LORD DUKE,

There is now no doubt that the armaments are not only checked in their progress, but means are, *sous main*, adopted to diminish the *chiffre* of what had been already raised. This looks well for public tranquillity abroad; and, not less so, the confirmation, which I hear, of a settlement of the *Question d'Orient*, by a *pro formâ* sanction of the five Powers (France included), to be announced, as Rothschild says, in a fortnight. At the same time, much ill-will is still exhibited by Lord Palmerston against M. Guizot and his master, originating I suppose in their forced adhesion at first to the warlike policy of the Cabinet of the 1st of March. Surely, the present modifications may tend to allay this feeling, as they are done in the very teeth of M. Thiers; who, only the day before yesterday, in the Chamber, insisted on the *isolement* and

the armament being continued by the Government, under pain of his high displeasure.

M. de St. Aulaire is ordered home from Vienna, to give his vote on the Fortification Bill; after which he will proceed, as I said, to London.

The nomination of Flahault to Vienna is not announced, but is positive, I fancy.

Those who have good means of knowing the Chamber of Peers, calculate that the Fortification Bill will be carried by a majority of twenty-eight. The Duke of Orleans has taken a most violent part in the canvass (if canvass it can be called), haranguing some of the poor peers, and threatening to give them Vidocq for their Chancellor. The King, confident of carrying his point, now thinks his power finally established; but, as the late isolated position of France has very much increased his apprehensions, he wishes more and more to identify that power with the Revolution. Hence the language of Madame Adelaide to young Talleyrand: hence his own observation, that in all times usurpers have existed; but positive force will always supersede rights. It must always be the fault of the monarch *de facto*, if he is supplanted by the monarch *de jure*.

I have the honour, &c.

T. RAIKES.

Odessa, March 1st, 1841, N.S.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

I yesterday received your letter of the 27th January, and was delighted once more to see your handwriting.

In June last I left this place for Moshny, an estate belonging to Countess Woronzow, in the Ukraine. Thence I went, through Kieff and Toula, to Moscow, where I remained a month, in order to arrive at Nizni-Novogorod during the time of the fair. Moscow pleased me extremely; it is the real capital of Russia, and has an air of nationality about it which you do not find in Petersburg or in the southern provinces. The fair at Nizni is extremely interesting, being the largest in the world, and bringing together the inhabitants and productions of the extremest corners of the earth; for the tea of China meets there with the furs which are brought, through England, from Canada; and the merchants from New York buy turquoises from those of Bokhara. The bazaar in which the fair is held is admirably adapted for the purpose. It is a double cube of a verst in length, and there is not a bit of wood or combustible in its construction. For the purposes of cleanliness, it is surrounded by a cloaca, larger than that of Tarquin, through

which the Volga is turned three times during the four-and-twenty hours. The pleasures and amusements of the 350,000 persons who are continually coming and going during the month, are also well attended to: 500 *restaurateurs* and twelve theatres, constantly open, minister to the wants physical and moral.

From Nizni I went, by the Volga, to Kasan; and thence, by Simburk and Saratof, to Astrachan, at which place I arrived in fourteen days, having had a favourable wind the whole time. The Volga is a magnificent river, and some portions of its banks are picturesque and beautiful; it passes through the most fertile provinces of the empire, receives the tributary rivers from Siberia and the products of that country, and eventually falls into the Caspian Sea at about eighty miles below Astrachan. It is the main artery of Russia, and is invaluable as such; and yet the extreme inattention shown to all that is useful by the Government, and the immense sums of money spent on objects of parade and luxury, instead of being applied to the vital internal improvements so much wanted, will, in a very few years, reduce this magnificent river to be but as a communication with the Caspian; for, in consequence of the woods on the banks of the river having been allowed to be cut *ad libitum*, the desert has

gained on it, and filled up its channel to such a degree that there are sixty-five branches at the *embouchure* now, instead of fifteen which existed fifty years ago; and the depth of the entrance into the sea is only five feet—so that ships of any large draught of water can no longer pass, and even the larger species of sturgeon, which form the principal riches of the country, begin to be scarce, and forsake its shallow banks.

Peter the Great, who not only was the greatest Prince and benefactor of Russia during his life, but who seems to have foreseen and provided for every contingency that could happen to that country, issued a ukase when at Astrachan (which is still preserved there), in which he orders that the woods on each side of the Volga shall be left standing for the breadth of at least a quarter of a verst, giving as a reason, that the destruction of the trees will lessen the volume of water by causing the absence of rain, at the same time that the sand of the desert will gain on the river in the absence of this natural barrier. His ukase has been neglected, and his prediction has come true; and, if the Government do not speedily undertake a great system of curvage, and condemn two-thirds of the new-formed channels, and force proprietors to plant on the banks of the river, it will be lost in a few years to the country, as Peter prophesied that it would be.

From Astrachan I crossed the salt desert to Kishur, passed along the frontier line of the Terek, and saw the cantonments of the Cossacks of the line, and of the army, engaged in active warfare in the Caucasus. Crossing the Caucasus from Ekaterinogorod, I arrived at last at Tiflis. The journey along this line was extremely interesting, and I heard numberless anecdotes in all quarters of the dreadful war which is now being carried on in that part of the world. General Grabbe's defeat had filled every town with wounded, and had marvellously raised the spirits of the enemy. The whole country is in a state of war, and looks like the outposts of an army everywhere: you are forced to take escorts, and continual inroads are being made on the frontiers. Algiers, the Caucasus, and Affghanistan are three agreeable cancers in the side of the three Powers who have, or rather had, undertaken to master them.

I intended to have made the tour of Georgia from Tiflis, and to have seen Bakou on the Caspian, the head-quarters of the Guebres, and Erivan; and Mount Ararat on the Sennaar frontier; but a fever, which laid me up for thirty-four days, prevented my executing this plan, and I returned, through Emeritia and Mingrelia, to the sea-coast, where a steamer, sent by Woronzow, took me up; and, after coasting Circassia, and occasionally

landing at the different Russian ports, landed me at his house, on the southern coast of the Crimea. From thence I came here, and have remained quietly and happily in the enjoyment of sincere and reciprocal friendship.

My remarks on my journey, and my probable prospects, I will write to you shortly, as also my feelings about our home policy. I am quite indignant at the apathy in England with regard to the Caboul cruelties. Write to me soon, and give me a good budget of news. I began this letter a fortnight ago.

Yours always,
ALVANLEY.

Thomas Raikes, Esq.
Paris.

London, March 1st, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,

We hope here, from all that we have heard, that, after all, the five Powers will come to a good understanding for the final winding-up of the Eastern affairs. God send that this may be true!

I have no confidence in the system of *isolement*. It does not answer in social life for individuals, nor in politics for nations. Man is a

social animal. I have still less confidence in *paix armée.*

I will do everything that a private individual can do to conciliate and procure peace.

Ever yours,

WELLINGTON.

Paris, March 10th, 1841.

MY LORD DUKE,

Since I last had the honour to write to your Grace we have had a complete dearth of news, and everything here has remained in a stagnant state. Every peer who was absent from Paris has been ordered back to his post in the Chamber, to give his vote for the fortifications; among others, the Prince de la Moscowa, who has never yet taken his seat in that Assembly, has appeared to support the Bill, and has taken the opportunity of raking up the old affair of his father's condemnation in 1815, which met with very little sympathy from his colleagues. The Bill will be carried by a majority, perhaps, somewhat less than I mentioned; but the opinion seems to gain ground, that the works, particularly the *enceinte continue*, will never be constructed. The King is still as sanguine as to the result as before;

he terms it the *sauvegarde* of his dynasty—a monomania on his part which may disappoint all his expectations.

Everything has tended hitherto to encourage our hopes that a good understanding prevailed at last between France and England; and that the final solution of the Eastern Question, under the sanction of the five Powers, would shortly put an end to all angry discussions on that subject. These hopes have, within the last twenty-four hours, received a sudden shock. The hatti-scheriff, issued at Constantinople on the 13th ultimo, restricting the power of Mehemet Ali in a way which had never been anticipated, has created much disgust and irritation here. It is considered totally at variance with the language and opinions held in London; it is looked upon by the French Government as an *acte de mauvaise foi* towards the Pacha and themselves, which will never have their concurrence, and will induce them to decline further negociations.

It is supposed that Lord Palmerston himself can never be privy to this; and, as it is well known that Lord Ponsonby never consented to sign the adhesion to the firman confirming the *hérédité* to the Pacha, till he felt that the representatives of the other Powers were decided to sign it without him, so this new bone of contention

is generally imputed to the prejudices and obstinacy of that individual.

It is a positive fact that M. Guizot said last night to a friend of mine, that he had received letters from Alexandria, asserting that Commodore Napier had written to the Pacha, advising him to reject these new propositions. Every one knows, that, notwithstanding the formalities used, the Sultan is a perfect zero; that all his acts emanate from the foreign dictators who surround him; and the world will never impute this new stretch of authority to him. The whole thing wears a very bad appearance. As, however, we may credit the moderate expressions received from England, it is difficult to believe that an Ambassador would take such an opposite line without the sanction of his Government. It will certainly tend to make the position of M. Guizot more arduous, who stands on no very solid ground already. MM. Dufaure and Passy are caballing for place; but if we lose the former we lose the best security for peace in Europe.

I see no exultation here at the untoward prospect of our affairs with America; indeed, I believe the present Government would view such a war with much regret and anxiety, as likely to bring on all the old dormant jealousies and quarrels about national flags, free bottoms, and

free goods, which have been and would again be exacted by England.

I sincerely hope that some explanation may disperse the present clouds.

I have the honour to be, &c.

T. RAIKES.

London, March 12, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have this morning received your note of the 10th instant.

From what I have heard here, I have reason to hope that the hatti-scheriff will have been modified or explained, and that the affair will yet be terminated in a satisfactory manner.

The American affair is more full of difficulties. The King judges wisely in apprehending its consequences. He may rely upon it, that if we don't put an end to these difficulties, and that at an early period, we shall get into fresh difficulties in France.

March 17th.

Affairs are in a strange state, and it is very difficult for any man to conjecture how they are to terminate. Of this I have always been certain, that accusations in public assemblies do not tend to conciliate peace among nations. It would be

curious to see the elder branch of the Bourbons on the *tapis* again—*l'homme propose, et Dieu dispose.*

Ever yours, &c.

WELLINGTON.

Paris, March 21st, 1841.

MY LORD DUKE,

I hear from good authority that this Government is very much pleased with the turn which affairs have taken in London. Lord Palmerston, notwithstanding, has disavowed to the Conference (in a note) all sympathy and participation in the late hatti-scheriff, presented by the Turkish Ambassador, and allows that the same privileges should be accorded to the Pacha as were originally proposed. The impression remains equally strong that Lord Ponsonby was the instigator of this attempt to grind down the power of the Pacha; but, if his chief does not support him, we may hope he will now be recalled. The treaty, which previous to this obstacle was on the *tapis* between the five Powers, will now be resumed, and we may fairly hope that a final solution of the Eastern Question, in a satisfactory manner, is shortly at hand. This conciliatory act on the part of Lord Palmerston is mainly attributed here to the fresh embarrassments which now

beset him in America, and render peace in Europe a matter of absolute necessity.

This event will give a fair colour to the pacific wishes of the King, and there will be no more attempts to bully and bluster in the face of Europe.

The Peers will carry the Bill of the Fortifications with a considerable majority; but no further use will be made of the measure than may be deemed advisable to strengthen the executive, and give fresh means of keeping the bad and mutinous spirits at home in awe and subjection. The increase of the army will also be modelled in the same view; and as to the proud and dignified *isolement*, it will thaw at once before the first amicable and conciliating advances which may be made by the other Powers. Louis Philippe is quite ready to say, as Werther in the play, "Embrassons- nous tous les trois."

I am sorry to add that General Cass is very apprehensive of a rupture with America; perhaps he wishes to excite our fears. And I hear that Mr. Stevenson, in London, is not only very resolute, but on very bad terms with Lord Palmerston.

I remain, &c.

T. RAIKES.

London, March 28th, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am delighted at the improved prospect of the settlement of the Levant affairs; I have not heard here of the signature. We hope that affairs, however complicated, are not in quite so hopeless a state as between this country and the United States. However, there is enough to create anxiety, and a sincere desire that other difficulties were overcome.

Believe me, &c.

WELLINGTON.

Paris, 1st April, 1841.

MY LORD DUKE,

The Chamber of Peers yesterday decided the principle of the Fortification Bill by rejecting the second amendment of the Committee, by a majority of 148 to 91. The Government bill may therefore be considered as virtually carried, the proposal to suppress the *enceinte continue* being now defeated, and the reduction on the grant cannot take place.

Every persuasion has been used, every inducement held out, to the refractory, to vote for the bill.

The King sent to M. Montalembert, who is

violently opposed to it, and has spoken in conformity to that opinion. His Majesty concluded his entreaties to him to uphold the *enceinte continue*, by saying, "Croyez-moi, elle n'aura jamais lieu. "Je ne suis pas un maladroit, je saurai me tirer "d'affaire!"

I leave comments to your Grace, and remain, &c.

T. RAIKES.

London, April 3rd, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,

You may rely upon it, that I always feel the utmost interest in what you write to me.

I answer you immediately. But you are aware that we have not foreign post every day; and we are limited to certain hours for the reception of our letters at the reception houses; since we have so vastly improved, as it is called, our post-office communications! I am under the necessity, too, of attending in the House of Lords every day at an early hour.

It appears that we have every reason and hope that the general peace will be permanent; though we are not yet out of our difficulties with the United States.

Ever yours, &c.

WELLINGTON.

Paris, April 3rd, 1841.

My Lord Duke,

I am very much grieved to tell your Grace that Lord Granville was attacked with a paralytic seizure on Thursday, and is in a very alarming state. I had dined with him two days previous, and never saw him in apparently better health and spirits. The gout in his system will not show itself; and the misfortune of his case is, that those remedies which are now necessary (such as bleeding, &c.) are prejudicial to the gout. Whatever may be the result, there can be no doubt that his political career is finished. If his life is spared, the remainder must be spent in retirement and repose. For us, who lived so much in the society of that amiable family, their loss will deprive Paris of one of its chief attractions, and the blank can never be filled up. The Flahaults are also plunged in great distress, from the death of their second daughter.

Your Grace will have seen by the papers, that the *ensemble* of the Bill was carried by a majority of sixty-two on the 1st of April: a most appropriate day for such a mystification! The signature of the new Treaty in London, by which France enters into line with the other Powers to settle the Eastern Question, signs the fate of M. Thiers; his name is never mentioned, nor will be

again, till the seeds of war or revolution can sprout again, and bring him into notice. The King is in very high spirits, and enchanted with his success. I remarked the other day to Poggenpohl, who has been long residing here, that everything now was settled, and peace established. "Yes," said he, "the German Powers "were so impatient to put an end to their arma- "ments, and get out of the scrape, that nothing "could stop them." My only apprehension is, that if Russia is really displeased at this pacific *dénouement*, and a return to cordiality between the French and English Governments, means will never be wanting to throw in a fresh bone of contention, even in this question. The influence at the Porte may always give her an opportunity of creating riots at Constantinople or insurrections in Syria.

I remain, &c.

T. RAIKES.

London, April 5th, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am very much obliged for your letter of the 3rd.

I sincerely lament the misfortune which has happened to Lord Granville. He has long been an invalid, and must be weakened; otherwise he

is not so old, as that his friends might not hope that he would live and enjoy himself in their society.

I have not yet heard of the signatures to the Treaty. But I believe that that stage of the transactions is not far distant.

Ever yours, &c.

WELLINGTON

Paris, 10th April, 1841.

MY LORD DUKE,

I believe that the delay in signing the Treaty may be explained by the circumstance that M. Guizot himself is not anxious for the final and immediate signature, though all the stipulations contained therein are perfectly agreed upon, and the rough draft *paraphé* by the negociators. M. Guizot foresees the attack which will instantly be made upon him by the Thiers party in the Chamber, when this open declaration of their policy shall be announced. Hitherto he has been left in peace, because they have been soothed by the declaration of his Cabinet, that they pursued the system of their predecessors, although it was well known that they were inwardly opposed to it; but this throwing off the mask will afford a handle for fresh invective, and give further scope

to his adversaries. M. Guizot, therefore, would prefer that the final signature should not take place till after the separation of the Chambers, if, indeed, this can be accomplished.

Innumerable are the traps laid by the King for the peers, to obtain their votes on the Fortification Bill. Among other lures, is that which gained the adhesion of General C ——. Mademoiselle Noblet, his mistress, had long been dismissed from the theatre, but a royal order, given for her re-admission and engagement on very favourable terms, won the heart as well as the vote of her gallant protector. Now that the matter is decided, the multitude begin to discuss the subject. They also foresee that this immense demand for stone and masonry will double the price of these articles in Paris, and will at once put an end to all the private speculations in building which are now carried on to a great extent in every quarter of the town; and the result of this will naturally be to throw out of employment the numerous classes of plasterers, painters, bricklayers, plumbers, &c. who will be left to starve or create disturbance. This, at least, is their way of reasoning, and it seems plausible enough. The royal monomania may, indeed, defeat its own objects.

I am extremely happy to add, that the accounts of Lord Granville's health are daily more satis-

factory; his head and speech have never been affected; and he has seen his sons, who arrived from England. I most earnestly pray for his recovery; as, independently of the loss and privation which I should feel if he quits his post, I know hardly any one in whose life and health so many people are deeply interested.

The establishment formed by the French at the mouth of the Red Sea, near our settlements at Aden, I am sorry to observe, has already produced very unpleasant results to English functionaries and residents in that neighbourhood. I wish I could see here any modification in the feelings of ill blood which have been lately excited against England.

I have the honour always to be, &c.

T. RAIKES.

London, April 19th, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am not surprised that M. Guizot should be anxious to avoid parliamentary storms. They are to be avoided—the more cautiously, because they are not confined to one country. There would be a rebound from hence; and something of the kind even in the United States. It is unfortunate, however, that the affair is not entirely ter-

minated; the debate has laid open some curious views of policy.

May God preserve the general peace! Man will not, if left to himself.

Ever yours, &c.

WELLINGTON.

Paris, the 29th May, 1841.

MY LORD DUKE,

SINCE I had the honour to receive your Grace's letter of the 24th, all here remain in anxious suspense, waiting the result of the momentous struggle in England. I see visibly a feeling at the Austrian Embassy, that this Eastern Question, though now formally settled, may still produce further trouble and misunderstandings among the Powers. The insurrection in Candia, and the very unsettled state of Syria, must involve the Porte in fresh embarrassments, with which it has neither the energy nor power to compete. In such case, the Allies must again interfere; and there is little chance of that unanimity prevailing in their councils, which has ever, hitherto, been more of a forced than a voluntary character.

The close of the session here is near at hand, and we may shortly expect a public declaration, that, the *isolement* of France having ceased, she has entered into line with the Powers of Europe.

Will that event produce a more unanimous view of the subject? Will not some effort be made here to obtain fresh modifications, of which French interference may claim the merit, in order to appease the exasperation of the Thiers party?

It is curious to observe the contrast which France, with all her pretensions to liberal ideas, now offers to England. In the latter, all agitation, all attempts to gain power by the ambitious, are made in the name and on behalf of the people. Here, if a Minister or deputy were to touch on so obsolete a subject, not a soul would listen to him, and certainty no one would select that theme as a *moyen de parvenir*. One thing, I believe, is undeniable: the English require to be better *fed* than the French. Those who aim at popularity with the latter only appeal to their vanity; the former are to be won through their bellies.

A friend of mine, Count Mychelsky, who has estates in Poland, on the Prussian frontier, told me the other day, that the markets for wheat with him were so precarious, that, though he sometimes obtained the price of six francs or seven francs, he was often glad to sell his produce to the Government at four francs. If wheat at that price could be imported into England under

the new proposed Corn Law, what is to become of our agriculturists?

The trial of Darmez before the Peers creates not the slightest observation or interest. It will close in a day or two, and the culprit will be condemned to death. There are no proofs against his accomplices.

The affair of the letters, one of which accused His Majesty of an intention to relinquish the conquests in Africa, has drawn from M. Guizot a direct contradiction on that subject, which, as the letters themselves were considered as forgeries, it was hardly necessary for a Minister of the Crown to notice.

M. d'Haussez, one of the members of Polignac's Cabinet, has also published a letter formally denying that his Government, on the commencement of the Algerian expedition, entered into any engagement with England, or the other Powers, that the occupation of that territory should be merely temporary. Of this your Grace must be the most competent judge.

Serious differences have occurred in that army since the arrival of General Bugeaud, and some of the generals are coming home in disgust; no success has attended their late march.

I remain ever, &c.

T. RAIKES.

London, May 29th, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have this morning received your note of the 20th. As so much time had elapsed since I had the pleasure of hearing from you, I became apprehensive that you might be unwell. I am delighted to learn that, although you have been indisposed, your health is now restored. You report a curious state of things at Paris. The world is not yet aware of all the consequences of the successful attainment of a government in consequence of a Revolution. I don't think that in all respects we have had much more reason to be satisfied than there is reason to be in France. We are yet in expectation of the consequences of the events of the last week.

Ever yours most faithfully,

WELLINGTON.

London, June 3rd, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am much obliged to you for your letter of the 29th May, which I received at Strathfieldsaye the day before yesterday. I see that the sentence upon Darmez has been carried into execution, at which I rejoice. Our crisis is not

yet brought to a conclusion, and I don't believe that anybody can indicate what the conclusion will be.

Believe me,
Ever yours most sincerely,
WELLINGTON.

Thomas Raikes, Esq.
Paris.

Paris, June 6th, 1841.

MY LORD DUKE,

Since I had the honour to receive your Grace's note of the 3rd instant, a telegraphic dispatch has announced the majority in favour of Sir Robert Peel's motion.

The circumstance most worthy of notice here during the past week, has been the defeat of Marshal Soult in the Chamber of Peers on his *Loi de Recrutement*, which, though in itself a bad measure, he maintained with great firmness, and would not hear of any amendment. What may be considered singular is, that the Duke of Orleans voted against the Government. The Peers seemed to wish to give some proof that they can exercise their prerogative, and are resolved to prepare the way for a better arrangement of the legislative business. It is doubtless a check to the present Cabinet, and the Marshal has taken it so much

to heart, that he did not reappear yesterday in his place, but announced to the Chambers, through M. Duchâtel, his colleague, that a serious attack of illness in the night confined him to his bed, from which his physician had expressly forbade him to see or speak to any one. It is said that he has sent in his resignation, but it will not be accepted.

Affairs become daily more gloomy in the East. The Pacha will not brook the fresh orders from Constantinople to disband his army; the revolt in Candia assumes a more formidable aspect, and the French pretend to insinuate that it is privately fomented by England. The execution of Darmez took place very suddenly, and without any previous notice. He made no confessions; there were more troops than spectators present.

We feel now so strong, with our forts and our armies, that energy, and even severity, may become the order of the day. Including the soldiers employed in the fortifications, there are now near 100,000 men within a *rayon* of twenty-five leagues round the capital. These works are proceeding with great vigour, as far as regards the forts; but, as we have foreseen, the *enceinte continue* is neglected. It is now, indeed, asserted that it is impracticable on the left bank of the Seine, by reason of the catacombs which undermine the soil.

I hear that M. Thiers said the other day, at a large dinner given before his departure, that "les "Ministres Anglais qui avaient soulevé le bran- "don des lois céréales dans le pays, meritaient "à être décapités sur le glacis de la Tour de "Londres."

Lord Granville and his family left Paris on Wednesday for La Jonchère, a villa near Malmaison, which they have taken for six months. It appears that they have no intention of returning again to the Hôtel of the Embassy; but I am happy to add that Lord Granville's health continues to improve.

I have received a letter from Alvanley, in the Lazaretto at Malta. He will be here on the 15th, and in England in a fortnight.

I remain, &c.

T. RAIKES.

Paris, June 16th, 1841.

MY LORD DUKE,

I fervently anticipate the termination of the present crisis in England.

On the evening after the defeat of his bill, Marshal Soult drove straight to Neuilly, where he found the Duke of Orleans, who went up and offered him his hand. The Marshal, boiling with

rage, then openly said to him, "If your Royal "Highness thinks that I am the dupe of your "manœuvres, you are grossly mistaken; and you "may rest assured that I will never allow you "to come and *tripoter dans mes bureaux*, as you "did in the time of my predecessor, M. Thiers." The King received him coldly, but pretended to know nothing of his son's vote, although on the preceding day he had said to Gen. Schneider, "*que la loi était mauvaise, et qu'il falloit* "*l'ajourner.*"

Then came the illness and the determination to resign; but this did not suit M. Guizot's policy, who did not think the time ripe for that catastrophe. In the meantime, it should be stated, that Flahault's mission to Vienna had been settled. This nomination had been proposed to Count Metternich, who replied, that whoever was selected for that post by France would be amicably received. M. Guizot then informed Flahault that the regular formalities had been complied with, and his appointment certain.

I have observed in your Grace's speech that you repudiate the idea of the Emperor Nicholas having in the late transactions been influenced by any wish to disturb the previous alliance between England and France. I now have heard the fact, candidly allowed by several Russians here, and more than once by Comte Pozzo de Borgo (the

nephew) himself, and by Kisseleff. The language they have held was, that, ever since Europe was shackled by this unnatural intimacy, every means for the general good had been constantly thwarted and opposed by it: witness Belgium, Spain, and various other diplomatic questions, in which the revolutionary spirit had within the last ten years been aided and encouraged.

There may be some truth in this assertion: at any rate, these individuals would not have avowed the policy of their master if they had not felt convinced that it was a fact.

I shall now mention a circumstance that has just come to my knowledge.

About a year and a half ago, just after the accession of the Ministry of the 12th May, it was observed that a ship departed from Bordeaux laden with arms and money, bound to the Indian Seas. The objects of this voyage were then unknown; but the ship was freighted by a company of private individuals, who had obtained the sanction of Marshal Soult's Cabinet to their operations.

It now appears that their object has been accomplished by the purchase of a tract of territory in Arabia, at a spot called Edd, not far from our colony of Aden, at the mouth of the Red Sea; the price given for this acquisition was 100,000 in specie. Possession has been

ceded by the scheik, or prince, of the country; and the treaty signed by him is come home, and has been positively seen by the friend who gave me this information.

Did your Grace observe the speech of M. Lamartine on the Fortification Bill, when, in alluding to the two extreme parties who concur in voting for it, he said that he perceived a monstrous mixing-up of an *arrière-pensée* of despotism and a skilful calculation of revolution?

I remain always, &c.

T. RAIKES.

London, June 18th, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have this morning received your note of the 16th instant, for which I return many thanks. Our Parliament will probably be prorogued on Tuesday, and dissolved on Wednesday next. It is impossible yet to tell what the result will be. We believe, however, that the Ministers will determine to resign, if the returns to the New Parliament should not be of a nature to give them reason to expect to be better supported than they have been lately. The country is altogether in an uncomfortable state.

Ever yours most faithfully,

WELLINGTON.

Paris, the 22nd June, 1841.

My Lord Duke,

I believe the real fact to be, that Austria feels herself placed in an awkward position *quoad* France and England. She wishes to withdraw from the Treaty of July, which can only be accomplished by a general agreement that its objects are fulfilled. She thereupon feels vexed that Lord Palmerston delays signing the protocol to this effect, because it precludes France from joining in the general views of Europe upon this Eastern Question, as, if any future difference should arise between the Sultan and the Pacha, it would then be adjusted by the interference of all, as bound by a new league.

Moreover, as the hatred of Lord Palmerston to France and to her sovereign is now as well known as that of Lord Ponsonby to the Pacha, any obstacle which he may oppose to a general settlement (in itself indispensable to draw France from her position of *isolement*), will indubitably be imputed here to that feeling and do harm.

Alvanley is arrived in Paris, and gives me a miserable picture of the Turkish power in the East, which is crumbling away and sinking into complete imbecility. Such a state of confusion and anarchy, he says, will soon arise there, that

the whole empire must shortly fall a prey to the inevitable occupation of Russia, unless it be warded off by European interference. His account of Russia, on the other hand, represents her armies as thinned and dispirited by the Circassian war, in which they have been uniformly defeated. He will have much information to give your Grace on this head.

The harsh expressions used by the Marshal lately to the Duke of Orleans may be thus explained.

It is the *marotte* of this Prince to gain a great influence with the army, and to become himself minister of war.

His object is to drive all the old general officers into half-pay or *retraite*, and to surround himself with young generals put over their heads, even to such an extent, that he may become the oldest lieutenant-general on the list. In this view, he affects to pay court to all young officers, even to the Polytechnics. M. Thiers, when he was in power, allowed him every facility in these manœuvres, gave him free access to his bureaux, and winked at his tampering with the clerks in the War Department who make out the lists for promotion. He also committed to him the formation of the new regiments enlisted. This may account for the Duke's partiality to the ex-minister. Of all

this the Marshal is well aware, and is prepared to oppose him at every step.

The King, too, is aware of it, and M. Guizot also, both of whom were alarmed at the President's threat of resignation, and were ready to concede every demand in order to appease him, from the conviction that his military name, his experience, and his popularity with the army were necessary to stem these attempted innovations of the Prince. This latter is always holding up to praise the exploits of Changarnier and the young officers now employed in Algeria; he alluded to the army under the Empire, when the rank of general was obtained by men under thirty; all which may be very palatable to his youthful hearers, but, in the present altered circumstances, can only prove that he has more ambition than good sense. This conduct gives uneasiness to his father, and has already produced feelings of jealousy amongst his brothers; not less does it account for M. Guizot's anxiety to retain the Marshal in his place for the present.

Another singular circumstance here is, that feelings of sympathy are shown at the Tuileries for the Whig Ministers in England. The *Débats* speaks in favour of Lord John Russell's address to the City; all which is unlike the tone of former professions. I can only suppose that, after

the late despotic measures carried with so high a hand, it is deemed expedient to throw out a few Radical sentiments as a tub to the whale.

I remain, &c.

T. RAIKES.

London, June 19th, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have to thank you for a note received this morning, dated the 17th. It is curious that Lord Palmerston should not have signed the protocol to which you refer. I hope that there will be no difficulty in bringing the Eastern affair to a close in any hands.

June 25th.

You will have seen that our Parliament has been dissolved, and the English world is now engaged in the general election. Nobody can tell what will be the result; but both parties are sanguine in their expectations of success. The new Parliament is called together for the 19th of August, by which time we shall be enabled to form an opinion whether the existing Government can last. I am exceedingly concerned that the state of your health renders it necessary for you to go to Havre. I shall sincerely regret any

interruption of our communication, which has been equally agreeable and instructive and useful to me, and for which I am exceedingly obliged to you. I hope to be able to go to Walmer Castle in a short time, where I shall be most happy to see you if you should be disposed to pay a visit to England.

Believe me ever,

Yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

Havre, August 13th, 1841.

A LETTER from the Duke of Wellington to me was duly received at Calais, as by the post-mark, April 5th, but was kept in the French post-office in Paris till the 10th August—six months—and then delivered at my house.

My bankers made (this time) a representation to the Post Office in Paris. They declared the letters had been left under the care of the porter of the house I occupied in Paris, and that he had never forwarded or returned it to the postman. No letter had been received by my porter.

T. RAIKES.

Paris, July 30th, 1842.

My Lord Duke,

The late melancholy catastrophe,* however it may be a subject of general regret, has certainly had the effect of averting the fall of M. Guizot, who, under other circumstances, would never have been able to resist the tide of public opinion, which, during the course of the late elections, had been so decidedly roused and manifested against him. The fear and apprehension of what might occur at this crisis, has rendered the Chambers generally more ready to rally round the throne at this moment than they would previously have been; and the affecting scene at the opening, when the King publicly displayed such bitter and poignant grief, attuned all hearts to a deep sympathy with his sufferings, and precluded the idea of mooting any subject which might tend to aggravate his sad position, or give him unnecessary and additional pain at such a moment.

Thus it may be anticipated that the Address in both Chambers, and the Regency Bill in favour of the Duc de Nemours, will be carried without opposition. Whoever knows this nation must feel that this will not be a durable sentiment. The *Gauche* and their adherents will soon resume their former bitterness. M. Guizot is extremely

* The death, by accident, of the Duke of Orleans.

unpopular; he even knows and owns it himself; he has lost ground by the late elections, and his adhesion to the Treaty of July will never be forgiven. *Reste à savoir* if his master can manage to retain him in his post against such formidable foes.

He is precisely suited to Louis Philippe, to whom his constant language on these occasions is, "Sire, il faut prendre patience, il faut choisir le "moment, mais le Roi sera satisfait."

The untimely fate of the Duke of Orleans has been generally and deeply deplored; he was not unpopular with the army, and, as it frequently happens, far more encomiums are lavished upon him now that he is dead than when he was living. The King is I hear heart-broken; he told an intimate friend the other day, that, at one time, he had had much trouble with the late Duke, who came from his college strongly imbued with liberal principles; that he then felt obliged to treat him rather as a king than as a father; but he had since completely subdued that tendency, and of late he had had every reason to be satisfied with him. "It is owing to this," added the King, "that my son never knew how much "I loved him."

This tallies very much with the expressions of M. de Talleyrand to your Grace, that the Duke was the *Prince de l'Ecole Normale*.

However His Majesty may have been satisfied with his son, it is still a fact that among his papers has been found a long correspondence between M. Thiers and the Duchess of Orleans, who has long been supposed to have been very much under the influence of that gentleman, and has, since her husband's death, given an audience to him and M. Dupin, as well as to M. Guizot and Count Molé. The Duc de Nemours has not that *don de la parole*, which the late Duke possessed, and which is so peculiarly ingratiating with the French people; but those who know him say that he has sterling qualities, and is far from entertaining the ultra-Liberal principles of his late brother, though his manners are cold and reserved.

The only exception to the general regret at this moment, is to be found in the ultra-Carlists, some of whom have shown an exultation as indecent, as their hopes in the result which they anticipate for the *branche ainée* are visionary and groundless.

That the animosity against England still exists cannot be denied, though I see no traces of it either in or out of society, as an individual; but it may be attributed much less to national feeling than to the mischievous press, which will never let the subject rest.

From the little I have already seen, my own

apprehensions of the late crisis and its results have greatly subsided. The nation *en masse* is, *au fond*, Conservative, because all classes here are, comparatively speaking, at their ease, and are fully sensible of what they might risk by a change. Would to God that England presented the same encouraging aspect!

I have great hopes that everything may now go on quietly here; there may be private squabbles, struggles for place, and intrigue among public men, none of whom have talents or capacities so much above the common standard, as to place them on a pinnacle from whence they might attract the admiration, or gain the confidence of their fellow citizens.

Among the middle and lower classes there may be partial discontent; they may murmur at the service of the National Guard, the conscription, the taxes, &c.; but to these they have been gradually inured, and well may they now know, by real experience, that with those who make revolutions, the cause of the people is always the last object to be considered.

The King is in good health, notwithstanding the reports to the contrary in England.

There is a force of 75,000 men in and about Paris, besides the National Guard, who, to preserve their own property, will fight to the last man.

The press here has been very much subdued by the severe proceedings against Dupotet; they continue merely to growl, like a sulky mastiff after a sound beating, who is cowed, and dares not bite.

I had the pleasure to find Lord Cowley in perfect health and good spirits; he received me in the kindest manner.

I have the honour to be, &c.

T. RAIKES.

Paris, August 2nd, 1842.

MY LORD DUKE,

I had the honour to write to your Grace on Saturday last the impressions which I had received on my return here; and everything I have since seen tends to confirm that opinion.

I heard, however, last night a circumstance which is not without interest. The late discussion in the House of Commons, and more particularly the tone of Sir Robert Peel's speech on the affair of Portendic and the English claims, have placed the French Government in a state of great disquietude and embarrassment. They feel that, in the present state of national feeling, any acquiescence in demands from your side of the Channel would be almost impracticable. But it appears that, some time back, they had absolutely

given their consent to liquidate a part of these claims, and had further agreed to refer the remainder to the arbitration of the King of Prussia.*

This very circumstance now only seems to aggravate the difficulty; because, however odious it might be to pay even a just debt to England, it would be considered here perfectly intolerable to settle a dubious claim at the bidding of a foreign Power. Thus, M. Guizot's only resource is, as usual, to attempt to gain time. It is on this account that M. de St. Aulaire is retained here; he only came over to promote the election of his son, which has been successfully accomplished; and he ought ere this to have returned to his post. It is thought that his absence may be a plea for avoiding an immediate discussion with the British Government on this subject, and instructions have been sent to Chabot to create delay, and plead inability to reply till the arrival of his *chef*.

The King had an interview lately with M. Molé, during which the conversation became very warm, and His Majesty made some very pointed allusions to those who were indiscreetly intriguing to get into power. This produced a reply in no very courteous spirit; but just at that moment Madame Adelaide entered the room, and the King took the opportunity of retiring, and left

him alone with the Princess; five minutes afterwards, the King returned with a smiling face, took M. Molé by the hand, and treated him with the greatest cordiality. This has no further importance than, as it may seem, to evince a wish not to break seriously with an individual who, sooner or later, he may be forced, *bon gré mal gré*, to take into his counsels.

Marshal Soult, in a conversation with the Duc de Nemours, expostulated with him rather seriously on his retired habits and reserved manner, saying that he was now placed in a new position, which would require a very different line of conduct. The Duke replied, that up to this time his great object had been to *s'effacer;* that he had seriously loved and respected his late brother, and always considered him as his *boussole;* but that now he himself felt the necessity of taking a more prominent part, and would act accordingly. His grief has been so great, that he is become quite altered in appearance.

I remain, &c.

T. RAIKES.

Paris, August 14th, 1842.

My Lord Duke,

I cannot tell your Grace that I have seen anything to alter my first impressions on returning here.

The victory obtained by the Government on the election of the President, was but a nominal majority of 43. Were the votes of the opposing candidates added together, it would not have been estimated at more than 12.

One thing, I think, seems certain: that with all M. Guizot's kindly feelings towards England, his hands are tied from ever acting in unison with us, or from proposing any measure that might draw the nations nearer together.

The obstinate opposition to the right of search, and the virtual prohibition of English threads, are subjects which would never have been started here, except in the spirit of retaliation.

Their conduct does not proceed so much from their own ill will, as that they are wounded by our tone towards them.

I do not see why our relations with France should not gradually resume a friendly tone, and become closer than they ever were (though we are now so far from such a result) if the English had sufficient discernment to understand the French character, and its susceptibilities, instead

of being merely intent on expressing their good opinion of themselves, and their suspicions of their neighbours.

If, in courteous terms, they allowed to France a share in their self-encomiums, and expressed a deference for her power, they would probably have entered into their views upon the Syrian question, and it would have been settled in a more satisfactory manner.

It is a mistake to suppose, as it is often said, that Count Molé has a great bias towards the alliance with Russia. He will, if he gets into power, be as anxious as M. Guizot to cultivate the English connection, and would doubtless be a more eligible Minister to renew the old *rapports* with England, as he at least is not tainted with the original sin of adhesion to the Treaty of July, a crime which will never be pardoned here.

When the Emperor of Russia heard of the melancholy death of the Duke of Orleans, he expressed great sympathy and regret to all who came in his way. However he may dislike the Revolution of July, he is always civil and attentive to the Frenchmen who arrive in his dominions. In fact, he knows how to please them.

I remain ever, &c.

T. Raikes.

Walmer Castle, August 30th, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR,

God send that the dynasty of King Louis Philippe may be permanent, and that the two nations may remain at peace! The detestation of *us* in France is *wonderful*. But not more so than the total apathy and indifference with which is viewed, in England, this state of the feelings of men in France.

Ever yours, &c.

WELLINGTON.

P.S.—The enclosed cover contains some assistance for a young lady who writes me that she has lost her mother. I know nothing of her except what she writes of herself.

Will you be so kind as to allow one of your servants to leave the cover for her as addressed.

Walmer Castle, September 6th, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR,

I had already heard from the young lady that she had received my note. She guessed the handwriting and seal; and I am very much obliged to you for the trouble you took.

You will see that matters are settling in the North of England, and I think that we shall acquire the respect, at least, of the French nation, if no warmer feeling.

We shall settle our affairs in North America, and likewise in India, and, I believe, in China—all of which ought to preserve and secure for us peace with our jealous neighbour.

I am happy to learn that Lord Cowley is going on so well.

Ever yours, &c.

WELLINGTON.

Paris, November 5th, 1842.

MY LORD DUKE,

As I must now feel that your Grace's time in your official position is entirely occupied, I have not written for the last few weeks.

We have had a serious *émeute* here; not an *émeute populaire* in the streets, but an *émeute boutiquière* under the roof of M. Fulchiron, where all the delegates from various branches of trade and manufacture in France have been assembled.

The source of this disquiet and opposition to the Government, has originated in the proposed customs union with Belgium. The great instigator of this measure is King Leopold, who has been lately on a visit at the château. He has made the most desponding complaints of the state of his kingdom, of the extensive paper

circulation, of the over-production of manufactures, and the consequent decrease of trade;—all which, he assures his father-in-law, has produced great discontent and bad feeling in the country. Louis Philippe has warmly entered into all his views, and has urged his Ministers to carry this measure into effect. In the present state of irritation and susceptibility which pervades all the manufacturing and *industrielles* classes in France, it may be well supposed that this project has at once aroused a violent and decided spirit of opposition to the Government. Indeed, it must be allowed, on the first blush of this proposal, that the alarm and indignation felt by the dissentient parties is not without good and solid foundation.

A union which must open to an economical and industrious population of four millions the markets and consumption of a rich population of thirty-four millions, must offer an immense balance of advantage in favour of that side which is so numerically inferior to the other. Add to this, that, independently of the coal and iron produced by Belgium, there are various manufactures cheaply produced in that country, which would run French industry very hard were the field of competition laid open to both. One great impediment presents itself at once in the article of tobacco, which is not

only grown and manufactured in that country, but enjoys an unshackled sale.

Turn to France, and there you see the same article subjected to a strict monopoly, producing an immense revenue to the State of 80 to 90 or even 100 millions per annum. How is this clashing of interests to be supported? Then again, what advantage would France derive for her own produce? Even the distressed wine-growers would have little to expect from a beer-drinking population, who would never be induced to change their wholesome beverage for a light and sour wine, however cheap it might be offered.

I only enumerate these well-known circumstances in order to come to my point, and account for the earnest and obstinate resolution with which Louis Philippe has attempted to carry this unpalatable and disadvantageous measure with his own subjects. It is one of those types of his character which I have often cited, without gaining much credence in England, where, forsooth, because he has for his own purposes maintained peace with Europe, he is still looked upon as a consummate politician and a man of the highest talent.

Louis Philippe has enforced this scheme of the Commercial Union with all his weight and influence; but the country has taken alarm—

the interested classes have shown an undismayed front, and he has met with such a firm and decided opposition, that he has been forced *malgré lui* to abandon the project. He has acted on this occasion, as he has done in many other instances: he is too wary and too timid to strive openly against the current; he makes a merit of yielding to popular opinion, when he finds resistance is vain or hazardous; but he never gives up his point. He yields, indeed; but from that hour he begins to mine and countermine in the dark, till a more favourable opportunity may occur to return to the charge.

It was thus that he said the other day to one of his friends, "Nous sommes battus, mais non "découragés. C'en étoit précisément comme "ça avec les fortifications: on me les a refusés "il y á dix ans, et cependant je les tiens."

King Leopold departed yesterday for Brussels, to get through his difficulties as well as he can, and try what facilities he can obtain from the Zollverein. I know from an undoubted quarter, that in the frequent differences he has had with his subjects, his language, when firmly resisted, was always this: "Vous m'avez offert la cou- "ronne; je ne l'ai pas demandée. Si vous n'êtes "pas contents de moi, je suis toujours pret à "m'en retourner à Claremont."

These are what are called, in the present day, constitutional monarchies!

There is likewise another idea which may probably have induced Louis Philippe (not less than his affection for his son-in-law) to take this matter so much to heart. This Commercial Union would naturally produce a great *rapprochement* between the two countries; it would blend their mutual interests; it would teach Belgium again to look up to France as the main source of her prosperity, and then, if its restless inhabitants were to become weary of their King, and fancy a second incorporation with *la grande nation*, what a prop might it be to the throne of Louis Philippe! What a claim would it give him to French gratitude, were he to be the means of restoring this long lost and desired province to its former masters!

But here again his short-sighted policy would come to light, and the Powers of Europe who had watched his progress would soon combine to foil his machinations. The King has had time to remark and know that the conciliating measures adopted by the Chambers on the death of the Duke of Orleans, did not, as he flattered himself, spring from any feeling of attachment to him and his family, but solely from a deep-seated dread of anarchy and revolution throughout the country. On this point alone the French

are very much come to their senses. There seems to be but one opinion among all the respectable classes (*i. e.* those who have something to lose), that murder and plunder are the sole objects of all Revolutions.

The Princess Clementine is going to be married to a Prince of Cobourg Cohari, who is nothing more than a lieutenant of Hussars.

I was extremely happy to hear from Yarmouth and Gurwood that your Grace was in such excellent health.

I remain, &c.

T. RAIKES.

Paris, 16th November, 1842.

MY LORD DUKE,

IN continuation of the subject on which I last wrote to your Grace, I now hear, that while King Leopold was engaging his father-in-law to carry the point with France, he was negotiating at Berlin to form the same connection with the German Union; and it is believed that he has already found greater facilities in that quarter, though nothing as yet is settled. He perhaps foresaw the result with France, but wished to make a merit of giving her the preference. One thing seems certain,—that Belgium cannot go on in

her present state without foreign aid, as distress and bankruptcy are pressing upon her.

In the meantime, Louis Philippe is so bent on what he thinks will be ultimately a political union with Belgium, effected without attracting public attention, that he is even now trying again to meet the subject here. The majority of his Ministers are against the project. M. Guizot himself is averse to it, but will not openly thwart the King. And when the latter sent to consult M. Thiers (which he actually did, and does on most occasions), he also opposed it.

The King was forced to yield; he declared that it should only be for the moment, and he would resume the subject on the first opportunity. M. Cunin Gridaine has drawn out for the Council an *exposé* of all the mischief which would result from this measure, as well to Belgium as to France. He asserts that the establishment of *régies* in Belgium, on the French system, would at once entail on that country an increase of 100 per cent. on the taxes now levied on tobacco, salt, colonial produce, &c. which the Belgian consumer could never pay; while, on the other hand, the price of manual labour being infinitely lower in Belgium than in France, the French manufacturer will be totally unable to compete with the Belgian. This incompatibility arises from the high state of taxation in France, which

has been constantly increasing of late years, and will never be diminished, for obvious reasons.

It is the policy of Louis Philippe to hear of no reduction of expenses or diminution of taxes in France, because the yearly collection of these enormous sums carries with it so much patronage, and so much profit into different channels; all of which leads to increase the number of his adherents, and strengthens that private influence of which he is so much in want. Resolutely determined on this head, he is still so short-sighted as to persist in a wild project—a sort of political *ignis fatuus*—which, if ever accomplished, may produce very dangerous results to both countries, perhaps to all Europe. In Germany, where the price of labour and commercial transactions are more on a par with that of Belgium, such a mutual arrangement might be more feasible; but, after all, how will that clash with the treaties of 1815?

In the meantime, the result of this new agitation in France will be, that commerce here must be more and more depressed. The conviction that such a measure is still *en l'air*, will operate as a check on all speculation, as no one will form engagements for the future, while there is a chance of such important changes being realized.

I remain, &c.

T. RAIKES.

Paris, November 26th, 1842.

My Lord Duke,

As I never seek or obtain any political information from our own Embassy, I have the less hesitation in telling your Grace that I have been well aware of all the communications lately made between the two Cabinets, conjointly with Count Arnim, on the late projected union. This energetic proceeding, as your Grace must know, has had the most complete result. It caused great uneasiness here. Guizot tried at first to parry it; but seeing that all subterfuge was vain, the King submitted; M. Guizot then declared that the project would be abandoned. The King has since been exceedingly out of humour. I know that an individual, who was not aware of what had passed, asked him three days ago some question about this union, and he replied very testily, "Ne m'en parlez pas, ne m'en parlez pas. "C'est fini." I hear that the reply from Berlin to Leopold's advances was, "Nous ne pouvons le "permettre, et vous non plus ne pouvez le per-"mettre." He must, therefore, get out of his embarrassments now as well as he can; but before he paid his last visit to Paris fifty or sixty of the chief manufacturers in Belgium frankly told him that they were in the habit of employing 100,000 to 150,000 workmen, whom, if no relief was obtained, they should be obliged to

discharge; and there would then be no end to the riot and confusion which might ensue. This energetic negociation has not yet got wind.

The accounts from Barcelona are highly unsatisfactory; the insurrection continues, and seems likely to spread. It is considered here as an anti-English demonstration. Espartero left Madrid with a body of troops; but it is thought that he will capitulate to the Junta. He will then turn round to England, and say, "You "see I cannot accede to your wishes on the "treaty." In that case, perhaps, one or two more may be joined with him in the Regency, and things may go on as before.

Torreno, who is here, and one of his enemies, allows that he is not an ambitious man; but likes his pleasures, of which gaming is one of the principal. He has been so *tiraillé* by Aston on one side, and the French Minister on the other, that he lost his head. One of the secret whispers is, that Russia has made a proposal to Austria to form Servia, Moldavia, and Wallachia into an independent kingdom, and separated from Turkey.

Since writing the above, there is a report that the news from Spain is worse; and there is an idea that Espartero will escape, and leave the country.

The great object of speculation and interest

here at this moment is, whether the produce of foreign nations will be admitted into the five Chinese ports at a fair duty, or whether the facilities given solely to England will be tantamount to a prohibition.

The election of Jacqueminot, as deputy for the first Arrondissement de Paris, excites much anxiety. If he should be defeated, it will be a bad omen for the Government.

I remain, &c.,

T. RAIKES.

Strathfieldsaye, December 1st, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR,

I write you one line to return you my thanks for your most interesting letters. I ought to have written to you some time ago to thank you for that of the 15th. But the truth is, that I am so constantly employed that I have scarcely time for the common duties of society. I cannot express to you the degree of interest which I feel in the perusal of your letters.

You will have been pleased with the reports from the East. I consider that this country is now extricated from its difficulties in the East as well as in the West. And I trust that our Government will take care not to involve the country in any of the same kind in future.

I am certain that it is possible for a government, as well as for individuals in the world, to avoid being involved in difficulties—though perhaps not quite so easy for one acting in some degree under popular influence as it is for those more fortunately circumstanced in this respect. But we must try, and at all events extricate ourselves from one difficulty before we involve ourselves in a second.

Matters are awkwardly circumstanced in Portugal as well as in Spain.

Ever yours, most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

Paris, December 14th, 1842.

MY LORD DUKE,

I was very happy to find by your Grace's letter of the 1st inst., that my preceding communications had been received, and had been considered worth the interest which you so kindly express. Little of importance has since occurred here.

The severity of Espartero has caused much indignation here, and perhaps justly. The letter of the British Consul at Barcelona, which is imputed to Aston's orders, has been as usual made a handle for abuse against England.

I passed yesterday evening at Prince Paul of Wurtemburg's, and found him just returned

from the Tuileries. He told me the whole family were still in deep mourning (though the term has expired), and very much depressed on many accounts. The King looked *très affaissé*, and greatly disheartened by the result of the struggle in Spain. He talked much of his determination to preserve peace, though it was evident that things did not go at all as he wished. If the reverses which he has lately experienced in his short-sighted and trimming policy could be kept in the background, they would give him (comparatively speaking) little uneasiness. But the fact is, that in the present day everything comes out, and is known. This has lately been the case on the two serious questions of the Belgian commercial union, and M. de St. Aulaire's proposal to annul the treaties of 1831 and 1833, on the right of search, in both of which instances the message through Lord Cowley and the reply of Lord Aberdeen have been represented in colours not very palateable to the French.

However this captious nation may have shown itself adverse to the former project, and had no possible right to expect any success in the latter proposal; yet, the instant it is brought under their nose by a taunting neighbour, that a plan has been counteracted, or a demand (however unreasonable) been rejected by

a strong and menacing reply from England, the whole Opposition are in a blaze, and try to wreak the ire of their discontent on the King and the Government, whom they were already predisposed to accuse of lowering the national character, and truckling to the foreigner. This is the real position of Louis Philippe at this moment, and hence his present anxiety and depression.

I remain, &c.

T. RAIKES.

Strathfieldsaye, December 23rd, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have been at Walmer Castle since I received your letter, at which place my time was so much occupied, as to render it impossible for me to acknowledge it, and thank you for it.

We have been a good deal surprised here by the events at Barcelona. I think that the decoration of the gentleman who was consul at that place, at this moment is, to say the least of it, an impudence. The transactions in respect of the families of the Captain-General, and of other officers of the existing Government in Spain, was surely one which required explanation; and time should have been given for receiving such before the reward for service should have been

given. We shall be fortunate if these Spanish affairs do not again involve the world in difficulties and eventual misfortunes.

Ever yours, &c.

WELLINGTON.

Vienna, December 23rd, 1842.

"MY DEAR TOM,

My conscience has been smiting me for some time with a cruel sense of ingratitude, and, at the same time, doubt, whether the agreeable, but very monotonous life here would provide anything like a return for your most amusing epistle. I am sorry, very sorry, that I shall probably never see Montrond again. So much wit and such utter lack of principle have seldom been united in one person; but I am grateful for the many hours' amusement he has given me. I have never had an instant's cause to complain of him in our very long acquaintance. It began the same day I saw Flahault for the first time—at his mother's, in 1814, where I was presented by John Russell.

As to Flahault, I have the most real friendship for him. I do not think it is possible to have a better, more feeling heart, more agreeable manners, with a depth of good common

sense, that make him a safe, as well as a most entertaining companion. Mde. de Flahault has at last nearly finished her furnishing and arranging, and nothing can be more comfortable, and indeed more magnificent, than her house and establishment. The other day they gave a large dinner to the Esterhazys, and I never saw a table *mieux montée*, or the service better done. Mde. de Flahault is pleased with her *début* here, and has now three days of solemn reception—the 27th, 28th, and 29th of this month. If she could have put it off till the arrivals of Princesses Lechtenstein and Schwartzenburg, it would have added to the beauty of the solemnity; but these ladies do not come till the end of next month, and it would have been out of etiquette for Mde. de Flahault to present herself *le jour de l'an chez la grande maîtresse* before her own reception.

Mde. Marescalchi has great success, and the two young ladies are much admired, and their *salon* promises to be very pleasant.

We have a company of French actors here—not bad. I saw "Les Premières Armes de Richelieu" the other night. The *parterre* applauded with enthusiasm, and the next day the fiat of the Minister of Police prohibited it—not on account of its immorality, but because Richelieu mentions his uncle, the Cardinal, twice in the piece, and that name is held too sacred to be mentioned in

a theatre. Those who were not fortunate enough to be at the first representation are in despair.

People here are a little scandalized at St. Aulaire's pretensions to dispute the precedence with the Archduke. I suppose he acted according to instructions, and, by not meeting him at Brunow's, committed no incivility. Any absurd pretension is perfectly unlike the man, who is good breeding personified; but here there is such a rooted aversion to France under the present *régime* that they are very touchy.

Young Blacas is just come from Paris, and has had one of his feet frozen *en voyage*. I hear he says the Anglophobia is much stronger since our success. I hope and trust Aberdeen has not addressed those very energetic notes about *le droit de visite* and the union with Belgium the papers talk about. I neither think the niggers worth the war, and, should a close commercial treaty suit the two nations, threats and interference will only facilitate Louis Philippe's wishes, as I perceive, even among the Frenchmen here, that whatever we disapprove of immediately becomes palateable to them, whether it is their interest or not! I except Flahault, who understands us too well, and is above such littleness.

We know as little about Servia here as you do. I saw by Prince Milosch's bow to Medem the

other night, how much he hopes from his master's interference. Many people think the opposition of his son has been instigated by him, in order to promote his own restoration. We have a most dirty blackguard of a Turk; he was here once before, and was originally a shoemaker. He, when last here, went to a Court ball, and finding it hot, took off a sheepskin waistcoat he had under his surtout, and left it on Marie Thérèse's state bed. This profanation was duly remonstrated with; and I wonder Maria Theresa did not arise from her grave to resent it.

Princess Schvenberg continues much the same; her *salon* always filled—French, Russian, English, Saxon, Hungarian, Danes, Poles, Florentines, &c. This Tower of Babel is very amusing, and one hears very good conversation. She knows how to bring everybody into play. I never saw anybody who had such a talent for directing conversation. She desires to be very kindly remembered to you and Harriet. She had a letter yesterday from the Vicomtesse de Noailles, who gives a very good account of her daughter. —— threatens a visit here. He had better come in summer; for there are now too many and too fast for him to get his good, but somewhat sesquepedeluvian, stories in. Poor Gordon can never get his oar in; he feeds Lady Wm. Russell, the Brabazons, and

Claude Hamilton and me on Christmas-day, being the first time I have condescended. He asks me sometimes to meet the attachés, but I always excuse myself—it is too dull. Medem gives small and very pleasant dinners: I like these every day better. So much for Vienna!

My health is improved, and I ride every day, and the weather is quite mild. I hear from England that the ——— are really separated. D'Orsay has taken to oil-painting, and has executed a portrait of Charles Forester on horseback. They say he has given him a very good seat, but that the colouring is bad.

Do let me know something of Alvanley.

I read so exclusively German, that I am losing both English and French, and with little chance of replacing either. My handwriting, too, becomes every day more illegible, as you may perceive to your cost; but if this provokes an answer, it will, to use the language of the day, have produced its mission; and with that and my best wishes to Harriet, I will close, as my horse is ready. Adieu.

Ever most truly yours,

ROKEBY.

Paris, December 30th, 1842.

My Lord Duke,

Your Grace's opinion is undeniable. Spain is the point where serious apprehensions for the peace of Europe may keep the world in constant anxiety. The great object of Louis Philippe is to destroy the English influence in that country. He will never dare to accomplish it by force; but no intrigues or underhand measures will be left untried, even through Christina or Don Carlos, for this purpose—measures which, if discovered, he will always disavow, but will never discontinue. He may not have been very deeply implicated in the affair of Barcelona, which was a sudden, unforeseen, and national outbreak; but it is certain that this insurrection had his best wishes for its success; and the other evening at the Tuileries, when surrounded by a little knot of foreign *diplomates*, he descanted so much on the subject, that one of them afterwards said, "Il a tant dit pour "s'excuser, que nous sommes tentés de croire "qu'il s'en est mêlé." As the rebellion is completely put down, it excites no further interest here.

Public attention is now directed to Madrid, where it is thought that Espartero, on his arrival, meditates another 18 Brumaire, to establish his power; and conjecture is at work to divine how

far England will go to support his political existence. Here it is reported privately that Louis Philippe means to make a fresh experiment of sending an ambassador to Madrid; in which case, I hear that M. de Pontois, formerly at Constantinople, will be selected for that purpose.

A Council will be held on Monday, to decide the question, whether a Speech shall be made from the throne. The King is averse to it, wishing to consider this meeting of the Chambers as a continuation of the last, which was summoned on the death of the Duke of Orleans. He very much fears that the Opposition in these amendments will not fail to allude to the treaties of 1831 and 1833, which have been gradually magnified and distorted into a great national injury and disgrace. Nevertheless, my conviction is that the Ministers will carry their point, and have the Speech.

The new *ordonnance* for establishing a Privy Council has excited much comment, but it is rather approved. The objects of the King in this measure are very obvious. The first and most immediate is, the increase of his patronage, which, *coûte qui coûte*, has become with him an insatiable passion. The second may be traced to the consciousness of his declining years, and to the wish, in case of his death, to provide some additional prop of counsel and talent to the Regent

who may succeed him, and of whom no one knows better than himself the political incapacity and inaptness for State affairs. This opinion is now so generally confirmed on all sides, that it must greatly increase the King's anxiety for the future duration of his dynasty.

How far this new Council (numerous as it inevitably will be, and composed, according to the preamble, of marshals, judges, lawyers, ex-ministers, &c.) may become a salutary support to the throne in the hour of peril; how far, too, it may clash with the Conseil des Ministres, and the Conseil d'Etat, already established, is far above my comprehension to decide. It will, at any rate, be a trial of the old adage, whether "In the "multitude of counsellors there is wisdom."

These reflections, however, bring with them a new idea, and that is, the highly important crisis to which all Europe may be exposed at any moment by the death of Louis Philippe—an event which at his age becomes precarious, and for which every other Government ought to be fully prepared beforehand, viewing it in all its bearings and probabilities, various and dubious as they may be; for, when that moment does arrive, there will be more necessity for action than for speculation.

The unprepared state of Europe when the days of July burst forth in France, is a lesson not to

be forgotten; *à plus forte raison* should it apply to England, for no other nation suffered so much in its best interests by the *contre-coup*. It is notorious that the Orleans branch has never been long lived, and the present King has often remarked, that he was a singular exception to those who had gone before him. Moreover, if we look to the deaths of Monsieur brother to Louis XIV., of the Regent, and of the husband of Mde. de Montesson, they were all either sudden or at short notice. This event, then, may come when we least expect it.

I trust your Grace will pardon my enlarging a little on the prospect. I have lived here long enough to know something of this people, and I believe I do not speak at random when I say that this is the period to which, whatever may be their chances of success, all that there is of discontented parties in France, of every shade, Carlist and Republican, now look forward, as the fit opportunity for realizing their wild plans, by subverting the present Government. "*La poire sera mûre quand la poire est "pourrie*," alluding to the nickname of the King. The Carlists even would join with the others to proclaim a republic. They all say, "Tout est mieux "que la branche cadette." This family, in fact, has gained no hold in the country: where they are not positively disliked, they are looked upon

with perfect indifference. They have not the prestige of legitimacy to secure them a few followers of divine right, and their mendicant marriages have proved that they had lost their caste abroad, which has not raised them in public estimation.

The future prospect of an infant King and an inefficient Regent afford little idea of security for a country where party spirit rules in so many forms, and all the great links of society are denaturalized and disjointed—a country where there is no aristocracy to surround the throne, no combination of talent and patriotism to support it. Add to this, a treasury exhausted by past profusion, a violent demoralized press, and a dark spirit of egotism which pervades all classes; while the nation still writhes under the mortification which the foreign policy of Louis Philippe has entailed upon France.

The army is numerous and formidable; but a great part of this force is engrossed by the occupation of Algiers and the garrison of Paris. This army is now composed not so much of conscripts as of paid substitutes from the lowest classes—hired adventurers, who take to the military life as a speculation, and are disappointed at finding how little chance it affords of promotion or emolument under this pacific system. They have no attachment to any family

or government: they would readily prefer that which offered the best chance of reward and advancement to themselves.

The National Guards are discontented, and find their duty irksome; they are slow to fall into their ranks when called out on any occasion, and are very free in venting their abuse on the King and his Government.

I have the honour to remain, &c.

T. RAIKES.

The marriage of the Princess Clementine with the Prince of Cobourg-Cohari is now announced.

Strathfieldsaye, January 4th, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have received your letter of the 30th, and I was much interested in the perusal of it. We are living in most critical times; and God send that the life of King Louis Philippe may be preserved!

In these times of political and democratical intrigue, it is impossible to acquire at first sight the truth upon any subject. It can be acquired only by laborious study. Madame de Staël said, "On conspire sur la place;" this is the case still, but it is not the less true "qu'on intrigue partout;" and that the truth is ascertained

with difficulty, from the want of confidence in things stated. Men are under the necessity of judging of what passes before their eyes, by referring to antecedent circumstances, and to the known course of the same parties on former and similar occasions.

It is my opinion that this is very much the case in respect to recent transactions in Spain.

And I observe that the French Government has been a little hasty in its decisions, notwithstanding the known prudence of the King and of his Ministers; and there will be some difficult questions between these two neighbouring nations.

Believe me, &c.

WELLINGTON.

P.S. Their Privy Council is formed upon the model of ours—notwithstanding the detestation of Englishmen, the English Government, and England.

The same class of men are to be the Councillors. Every man in England appointed to fill a certain office, called a Privy Council office, is, when appointed, sworn a member of the Privy Council. I was so sworn before George III. when appointed Chief Secretary in Ireland. Once a Privy Councillor, a man remains in the Privy Council for life; unless the Sovereign should

order his name to be struck out. But he receives no salary as such, and never attends the Council unless specially summoned. The French have begun at the other end; they appoint to the Privy Council at the option of the Sovereign, after the cessation of their tenure of office, men who have filled certain offices nearly the same as those which are called in England Privy Council offices. But the King has the option of appointing, or not; and, after appointing, of calling to the Council, or not. But every man so appointed is to have a salary."

The French measure, although in substance the same, and founded upon our system, is one of patronage, which ours is certainly not.

Feb. 2nd.

Affairs in France are in a curious state. We must endeavour and hope to preserve peace between the two nations. There is no desire here to insult our neighbour, still less to quarrel; but I think that we are tried highly.

Vienna, January 16th, 1843.

MY DEAR TOM,

If I wait till doomsday I shall never be able to write you a letter worthy of yours; so here goes, and you must accept the will for the deed.

Louis Philippe's pacific declarations are a set-off against our bad quarter's revenue. But where we are to find a set-off against the disgrace our wanton cruelties and destruction in Afghanistan have brought on our arms, I know not. These Austrians, who naturally like us better than any other people, cannot suppress their disgust; I am ashamed of meeting them. If E. ordered the innocent to be punished in case we could not catch the guilty, I think he ought to be recalled. The treachery of allowing the population of Cabool to return, and then to destroy their towns *de sang froid*, is commented on by every one. As to Istalif, there was not a shadow of an excuse for its destruction. Fiquelmont, who is Metternich's *double*, said to me last night, "Je suis fâché pour l'Angleterre." I know no event for years that has given me so much pain; I only hope the press in England may be unanimous, and that Peel may disavow it in Parliament as originating in instructions from home.

I have always believed * * * to be a charlatan, and have no doubt he will be found out by everybody before the end of his government.

As to the revenue, it is clear the income tax is not yet come into operation; at least, if these two last quarters are to be supposed to represent the tax upon income, the grumbling has been very

wanton. One thing is, however, clear, that taxation is like the covering feather-bed in a German inn; if you cover one shoulder you leave the other bare; and if you tax incomes you reduce their expenditure in taxed articles. I have no doubt that will come right again; but it was high time to finish our expensive wars, and, thank God, France (at least the Government) seems at length bent on disarming.

I wish Cowley's information may be true; a general war about the Niggers would be the one question of philanthropy. I should think there would be plenty of spokes in the wheel of the reunion of the French and Belgian custom-houses; but from what I hear, and from no worse authority than Goulbourn, the export of yarn through Belgium into France since the increased duties, has been larger than ever known.

Flahault tells me Metternich communicated to him this curious fact six weeks ago, in the midst of his indisposition; and it proves how well informed he is, and how alive to everything that passes in Europe. It is, nevertheless, a very good reason for the French Government to wish for the reunion. It is also a proof of the senseless dreams of the Anti-Corn Law League. I am not at all afraid of them with wheat at forty-seven shillings a quarter. But it is high time our Parliament should meet, and Peel speak out and put an end to this agricultural panic.

Madame de Flahault gave a great and very brilliant drum on Friday. It is not the custom to send invitations here: people declare they receive, and trust to the good taste of those who ought not to come to stay away. I should like to see the same experiment tried in London, Paris, or Rome, or any other place infested by Bulls.

Princess Esterhazy gave a charming little ball Saturday in the same manner; nobody comes who would not have been invited, but it requires very great tact in a society to trust to them in this manner.

Gordon gives large and good feeds, with a round table worthy of King Arthur—twenty covers; the plate is massive silver, but in the worst taste imaginable. Flahault's ormolu, bronze, and Sèvres has not, perhaps, cost a tithe of it, and is ten times more *recherché;* the *cuisine* is about on a par, but the badness of the markets here makes a really good dinner impossible. I stick to water, so cannot say who has the best wine; but I hear the *gourmets* say Flahault is the first French ambassador here who ever had good wine. You will see a *bon vivant* at the Club in the Rue de Grammont, a Comte Schulemburg, who is a capital judge and an excellent fellow.

I met a M. Ichschull, a Neapolitan Russian, the other day, who asked after you and Alvanley

—a pleasant sort of talking fellow, and a deep player. He had known you at Castellamare, and seemed much impressed with your talent for *les calembourgs*.

We have here the Creptowitzs and two married daughters, whose husbands are at Constantinople; their son married Nesselrode's daughter.

Prince Metternich is quite well, but I think more serious than before this attack, and, as Londonderry says, I think his *accueil* more cold. The Prince of Cobourg, who is going to marry Louis-Philippe's youngest daughter the Princess Clementine, chose to be impertinent the other day to an Hungarian gentleman, a Comte Edmond Zichy, brother to the "turquoise" Zichy, and got much the worst of it. He is a major in the hussars here, and in consequence amenable to the common laws of society; everybody feels and says that Zichy was in the right.

The Esterhazys' apartment is nearly all done up and is beautiful. Princess Nicholas is very popular, and is to be confined next month. A little *attaché* to our Embassy, who had got drunk, cut off a pheasant's head, went to the Opera, stuck it on a candlestick, and asked the surrounders if it were not the image of Metternich. He then rolled about and ran his eye against the lighted end of a cigar in Collante's mouth, and very nearly put it out, and bellowed like a bull. He lit his own

cigar the other night at the shrine of a Madonna in the street. He is an out-and-out Waterfordian, and makes a famous contrast with his very staid master. In short, the town rings with his adventures. He is a very good-looking little fellow, and fights like a dragon when in his cups.

Lady Wm. Russell has been a fortnight in bed with the *grippe*, and we have only a Lord Algernon Chichester, and an odious Captain in the Austrian service, who is the torment of my life in the Prater, where, for my health and pastime, I ride every day. As to Pomard, I never shall imbibe any more of that generous tipple. I contrive to be pretty well—much better than when I saw you in England. I like my life here, and make much progress in German. Your anecdotes are *impayable*; and, indeed, so I feel about your whole letter; but I consider mine in no other light than a bill of exchange, and only write to deserve an answer.

Princess S. desires to be most kindly remembered to you. Say something very kind for me to the Viscountess de N. I have a most sincere regard for her, and only wish I saw her oftener.

Adieu; *mille amitiés*,

ROKEBY.

London, February 9th, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,

I trust that the Spanish Regent will have the good sense to settle the foolish affair about Lesseps, whose conduct does not at first sight appear deserving of immediate reward.

The peace of the world should not be disturbed by such *niaiseries*.

You will have read another speech of Lord Brougham's, delivered on Tuesday last. This, I think, is directed principally against General Cass and his disciples at Paris.

Ever yours, &c.

WELLINGTON.

London, May 28th, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have much more reason to apologise to you for having so long omitted to write to you, than you have to mention to me your omission to write lately. But the fact is, that I have so much to do, that I have scarcely time to turn about. I have this moment received your note of the 20th inst. God send that the King may

continue in good health. The loss of him would be a great aggravation of all the evils and hazards by which the world is threatened.

With many thanks,

Ever, &c.

WELLINGTON.

London, July 1st, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your observations are very correct and well founded, and I am much obliged to you for them.

The world is altogether in a strange state, and much prudent management will be required in order to bring affairs to a settled state, without the extensive complication of all.

However, we must persevere in our efforts to attain the object.

Believe me,

Ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

Paris, July 6th, 1843.

MY LORD DUKE,

I cannot help feeling that, strange as may be. the state of affairs at present, they are likely to be still more complicated and embarrassing.

Every movement of the telegraph brings fresh

accounts of the progress of the insurrection in Spain, and the expected downfall of the Regent seems to be hailed with undisguised satisfaction here, if only to be considered as a mortal blow to English interests in the Peninsula. This is the burden of the song in all the journals, and the sovereign here will not fail to turn this national feeling to his own purposes. The great fault that Espartero seems to have committed—*à part* that of being unsuccessful—is that he has left the Queen at Madrid, away from himself, as without her he has no legal power; and upon this circumstance the plans of the disaffected appear to be grounded. When I say the plans of the disaffected, I should rather say, the plots that are brewing here; for this is the point from whence all the energy of the rebellion against him is derived.

Spaniards, of late, have been called out of their beds in Paris at two o'clock in the morning, furnished with money and passports, and sent to the frontier; 25,000 stand of arms have been shipped from Port Vendre for Spain, and all this in the name of Christine; while His Majesty assures Lord Cowley that he has never, directly or indirectly, interfered in Spanish affairs, and requests him to write to his Court to that effect, which will, of course, be confirmed by M. de St. Aulaire on the spot.

A person who is really well informed on these matters told me last night that the following is the plan of proceedings chalked out here, and sent to the Juntas. It certainly bears a great feature of probability, after what we already know; and I think it may be right to submit it to your Grace's attention. In the case, then, that Espartero should be defeated, and his retreat back to Madrid intercepted and cut off, it is planned that the insurgent party should make a *coup de main* on Madrid, and endeavour to seize the person of the young Queen. This being accomplished, they are to declare her Majesty, and establish a new Government. In the mean time, Christine will be despatched from hence, as called by the nation, to aid her daughter with her maternal care and advice. Once arrived there, she is of course pledged to promote and bring about her marriage with the Duc d'Aumale. And, when a formal proposal to that effect shall arrive from Spain, His Majesty Louis Philippe will hold up his hands in astonishment, and declare that he never had any share in the business!

The most curious part of the story is, that Christine is very unwilling to play her part in the comedy. She has had no objection to lend her name; she has advanced certain sums as scantily as she could; but she is extremely averse to going back to Spain, and

embroiling herself with these contending factions, who would very soon demand an account of her previous stewardship, and make her disgorge a large portion of her ill-gotten wealth and plunder. It is known that she brought with her out of that country twelve Madeira bottles, carefully sealed, and passed as such in her baggage, which were filled with every sort of precious stones taken from the Crown jewels and different palaces belonging to the Royal family. Thus do matters stand at present; and the Duc d'Aumale has been called away from his little laurels in Algeria to wait the tide of events in Paris.

The only thing which now can save Espartero is, I believe, to counteract this plot by himself carrying off the young Queen to Cadiz or Badajoz, or some strong place where he might be secure, and there establish a seat of government in her name which could not be denied.

If the English Government feels it has been deceived, and chooses to take a strong menacing tone, the fabric of the marriage will fall to pieces. Louis Philippe may evade the question, but he never will have recourse to the *ultima ratio.* England has a constant guarantee for peace in Algiers, where she might by a single blockade reduce 100,000 troops, besides colonists, to a state of starvation in less than three months, because

all the chief supplies come from the mother country.

I do not venture to give these opinions as merely my own, but as being sufficiently just and authentic for me to present them to your Grace, though I know that I am treading upon delicate ground.

I have the honour to be, &c.

T. RAIKES.

Paris, July 25th, 1843.

MY LORD DUKE,

It seems to be the general impression here that the Regent's cause is quite hopeless, and that he has no chance of making head against his adversaries. I hear that an envoy is arrived in Paris from Espartero to the Government, whose object is to negotiate in his favour, and obtain the best terms possible for him. I hear also that Louis Philippe is taking the magnanimous line—offers his protection, and almost promises to secure to the Duke and Duchess of Vittoria the possession of their property. He seems to think that he shall now be paramount in Spain, and that nothing will prevent his prosecuting all those plans he has so long been working at, unless it be the dread of England.

I have never in my letters to your Grace

written anything that I did not believe to be perfectly true, but I hardly thought the fruits would have been reaped of these laborious efforts.

The Prince de Joinville and his bride are just arrived from the Brazils.

I have the honour to remain always, &c.

T. RAIKES.

London, July 26th, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,

It appears that Espartero is in as bad a way as possible; but no person in his senses can calculate upon what will follow his downfall, occasioned as it is, not by political revolutionary movements only, but by the treachery and revolt of the army on which he relied.

The first appearance that Spain will take will probably be that of some half-dozen or eight republics, governed by separate Juntas. It is impossible to say what will follow.

Believe me ever, &c.

WELLINGTON.

Paris, July 26th, 1843.

MY LORD DUKE,

Two days ago M. de Luxbourg, the Bavarian minister had an interview with the King, whom

he found alone. He had not seen him for some time, and the other was, as usual, in a very conversible mood. He kept him for a full half-hour descanting on his favourite subject, the state of Spain, and denying always that he had ever taken the slightest step to interfere in the late insurrectionary movement. He affected to regret most deeply the rumours which had gained ground here and in England on that subject. He knew very well the decided opposition which would be made to any idea of the Queen's marriage with his son by the foreign Powers—not only by England, but by the others—and the thing itself was quite foreign to his thoughts. "Moreover," said he, "the great object of my "policy is to maintain the alliance with England "under all circumstances, as I hope it is hers, "because I have no hesitation in saying *que cette "alliance est la base de mon gouvernement.*"

We shall now see what are the expressions of his Minister. The Duc de Cazes is at this moment in high favour with the King and with M. Guizot. They are both extremely satisfied with the conduct and correspondence of his son, M. de Glucksberg, at Madrid, who appears to have acted with much talent, and a sagacity above his years.

It was, I think, on Sunday last, that M. de Cazes breakfasted with M. Guizot, when the

conversation was entirely devoted to this same subject. There was the same denial of any interference in Spain; the same allusion to the King's sentiments on the subject of the marriage, which the Government had never attempted to abet or encourage in any shape. "But," said M. Guizot for himself, "*Quant à moi-même, je* "*ne veux pas me prononcer.* I cautiously avoid "any conversation on the subject, and when it "is brought upon the *tapis* I strive to be as "guarded in my replies as possible." [This, I suppose, means, as far as ambassadors are concerned, though I believe Lord Cowley can tell a very different story.] "I look upon it to be an "event of the most grave importance, for, with- "out seeking to place ourselves in this predica- "ment, if overtures of such a nature should be "formally made to us from Spain, it is impossible "to foresee what would happen. There would "then arise such an opportunity of asserting the "national dignity, of rebutting and confounding "those taunts which have so long been lavished "by our adversaries upon the Government, that "I myself, notwithstanding what His Majesty "may say, do not see how we should be able to "resist the offer, in spite of all the impediments "that may arise from other quarters. I own it "would be a most serious crisis."

Count Molé, who for the last six months has been labouring under an attack of *ambition rentrée*, is just gone to seek a cure at *les eaux de Plombières*. Previous to his departure he also had an interview with the King, who made to him just the same denial of all participation in these events, *verbatim*, as to others. He said to a friend of his and mine afterwards, "Really, the King has "given me such solemn assurances, that I cannot "do otherwise than believe him; *mais enfin!*" —and then, shrugging his shoulders, he made a gesture, as if he thought he was never to be trusted.

These conversations are literally true, and I give them to your Grace almost verbatim as reported to me. The first, of course, with M. Luxbourg, was meant to be circulated abroad; but the second, with M. de Cazes, is of a very private nature, related by himself to an intimate friend on the following day, and, I believe, is known to very few individuals. The only way to account for such lofty expressions is, that M. Guizot in his heart is convinced that England is so fettered by her own domestic difficulties that she dare not go to war.

The telegraph last evening announced the defeat of Generals Serrano and Zurbano, and the preparations for the surrender of Madrid, into

which capital Narvaez and Aspinoz were to enter with their divisions on the evening of the 23rd instant.

The Chambers are prorogued; and for the next six months M. Guizot will have *les coudées franches* to carry on his own policy undisturbed by inquisitive Deputies. The only thing to be considered here is, whether, in the event of such a crisis, the nation will see in it an opening to assert its dignity and warlike propensities, or a family intrigue in which it takes no interest.

Hitherto the subject has been kept so dormant and in the background, that I have heard no general opinion expressed about it.

I remain, &c.

T. RAIKES.

Paris, August 7th, 1843.

MY LORD DUKE,

There seems to be a very strong impression here among the well-informed politicians (and society is more occupied with politics in Paris than in London), that before many months are over a political crisis will arrive, when very serious discussions will take place between the great European Powers. Yet the conviction is that there will ultimately be no war. Now the

feeling can only be deduced from the Spanish Question. M. Bresson told ————, who met him at Plombières the other day, that Prince Metternich had declared that Austria would firmly oppose the marriage of the Queen of Spain, either with a French Prince or a Cobourg; and, moreover, that he had in his pocket the authority from Russia and Prussia to include them in his views. In the mean time, M. Guizot, in his private communications with the Duke de Cazes, whom he sees often in reference to the correspondence of M. de Glucksberg, seems to become more and more *entiché* with his opinion, that the time approaches when he will be able to assert the national dignity with a high hand, and by that means consolidate his own power. He said the other day, "C'est un "projet bien séduisant; et ce sera un grand tri- "omphe politique pour nous." All this must be founded on his conviction, that, whatever may be the opposition made to the marriage, no power will think it worth while to go to war for such an object.

I was surprised to hear Kisseleff say that he did not believe in French interference in Spain, which is so notorious; but it proves that he believes in what M. Guizot tells him. He imputed all the blame to Aston, who had kept aloof from the rest of the *corps diplomatique* at Madrid, and had iden-

tified himself completely with Espartero, making the interests of England solely dependent on that man, who now turns out to be devoid of both talent and conduct. He likewise adverted to the commercial treaty as a great source of discontent in Spain, and prejudice to the Regent as well as to English interests.

This view of the subject may perhaps be traced to the Emperor's antipathy to all revolutionary feeling, of which Espartero, after all, is but the type; and also to his hatred of Lord Palmerston's policy, which the British Government has been forced to adopt as an inheritance in Spain.

I had some conversation yesterday with Torreno, who seems fully confident that the new Government will be firmly established. He, too, denies French interference or the supply of French money. "Perhaps," said he, "some "Spanish money has been sent from France, "which may have corrupted some regiments, "but the movement was general and voluntary. "There will be no difficulty for the elections, "and the Cortes will meet in October." He has made a very large fortune, and does not seem in a hurry to go back till affairs are more settled.

The Duc de Grammont, who is just returned from les Eaux de Neris, tells me, that on his way home he called upon Charles V. (Don Carlos),

at Bourges, and had a long conversation with him. He says that he is very intelligent, and perfectly well informed on everything that is passing in Europe as well as in Paris.

He told him that the Spaniards would never permit any foreign interference in their affairs; and the Queen, who was present during the interview, said that Christine was so much under the influence of Louis Philippe that she was for him *comme un des doigts de la main*. M. de Grammont likewise conversed with the Prince of Asturias, whom he describes as very clever, and well-informed on all subjects.

Their confinement is merely a restriction to the town; there was only one sentinel at the door as a guard of honour.

This Spanish question seems to become daily more interesting. Torreno admitted to me that when the Cortes were assembled the Queen's majority would be declared. Then we shall see what will happen.

I have the honour

Always to remain, &c.

T. RAIKES.

London, August 11th, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,

I thank you for your letter I received yesterday, and for another most interesting one upon the same subject a few days before.

I don't concur in the views which you write. Those who entertain them are totally mistaken.

I have had a knowledge of the politics of Spain for a greater length of time than most men now alive, and of the relations between this country and that, and their object.

The influence of this country has never been exercised even, much less exerted, to promote British objects exclusively—not even to attain objects which must be called anti-Gallican. These were invariably and exclusively Spanish; and I believe that, if the records of the correspondence were examined, even in recent times, it must be found that the object to be attained was French—that is, to prevent a rupture, or to effect a reconciliation, with the French Government, always in the interest of Spain herself. I could quote many such instances.

In my time, during the war, my object was to maintain in Spain the means and power, and the preservation of the ancient organization, of the powers of the State, so as that the country must be governed, notwithstanding the existence of a

democratical constitution of government; and all the leading conservative interests, powers, organized establishments, &c. were preserved in existence, and were the rallying points of the men of property of the country.

I am afraid that these objects have been lost sight of in modern times—that is to say, in the last twelve or fifteen years; and that nothing has been substituted, excepting a foolish Popular Assembly, in which no creature in the country is so absurd as to feel any confidence. But still, the object of the British Government has been invariably to promote the interests of Spain herself—for Spanish objects, not British. Other Ministers may, I think they have, been mistaken; but still I acquit them of having ever acted on the erroneous view of British objects, or even of anti-Gallican objects.

This is particularly the case at present.

Ever yours, &c.

WELLINGTON.

Paris, 14th August, 1843.

MY LORD DUKE,

I AM very much obliged to your Grace for your letter of the 11th, and can only wish that the conduct of the British Government had been

more justly appreciated here. I can know nothing of Cabinet secrets, but I see growing symptoms around me that Louis Philippe will be allowed to have his own way in Spain, and that the fear of war will check foreign interference. The altered language of the King would be sufficient to encourage this opinion. I believe he now talks more openly of the marriage, and descants on the benefit which must accrue to France, by a renewal of the family compact as it existed during the time of Louis XIV. He must, nevertheless, be blinded by ambition, or he never would compare the despotic era of that period with the revolutionary time in which we live. Supposing, even, that he may be allowed to reap the fruits of his duplicity, he may find, to his cost, *qu'il a lancé une bombe qu'il ne peut pas diriger.*

I was mentioning this subject yesterday to Lord Cowley, who then showed me the heads of the treaty which he signed with Spain just before he quitted his post as ambassador to that Court, which, among other objects, particularly stipulated that, in the relations between France and Spain, no attempt should ever be made to renew the family compact. Appended to this was a note, that, when the document arrived in Paris, and was made public, that article had been suppressed by the express directions of M. de

Talleyrand. So much for Louis Philippe's regard for existing treaties!

Since my last letter another event has taken place, for which we were well prepared; though we did not anticipate its so early accomplishment. The majority of the Queen has been declared at Madrid. I have seen the copy of a letter from Martinez de la Rosa, now with his brother at Bayonne, who accounts for this summary proceeding by saying that the Juntas had demanded by what right the new Government presumed to act in place of the Regent. Their only resource, therefore, was to declare the majority at once, in order to obtain the Queen's signature to their acts; and when the Cortes meet they will require a bill of indemnity.

We hear that the *fourgons* are preparing for the journey of Christina, but I should think she must wait till matters are a little more settled: a Government that has not a *maravedi* is not much to be depended upon. They have been obliged to send the troops which were assembled at Madrid into the provinces for subsistence, and I hear that the Juntas have said, that, if they supported them, they should claim their services; for, although these Juntas give in their adhesion, they seem to have no idea of dissolving themselves. This Government has appropriated to its present use

the sums which were to have met the dividends on their loans, a measure which will make considerable havoc on the Exchange in London.

They dare not create taxes, from a fear of becoming unpopular, and moreover because they are never sure of receiving the produce—there being no receivers-general, as here, and the collection being made by the municipality of the department, who first take what they want for the local exigencies, and then transmit the rest, little as it may be, to the capital. The accounts from Portugal are very unsatisfactory: in fact, the whole of the Peninsula seems to be in a very precarious state. The Radical spirit is abroad; there is no aristocracy, no men of moral influence or talent in either country, while the two thrones are occupied by a weak Queen and a child. These, I fear, must be grievous objects of anxiety to your Grace's Cabinet.

Fazee told me yesterday, in confidence, that Kissileff was lately at Neuilly, when he took an opportunity of expressing to the King, in the name of his Emperor, the gratification which he felt at seeing the firm manner in which he had of late maintained Conservative principles. The King was very much pleased at this message, and mentioned it afterwards with glee. Kissileff's colleagues, when they heard it, asked him if it was true. He immediately denied it, saying, that

he had merely used some expressions of that nature *in his own name* to the King, and without any reference to his master. This, as they believed the fact, was considered rather inexplicable.

There is already an idea here of sending an ambassador to Madrid; and Bresson, who is the *âme damnée* of the King, is selected for that post. Salvandy was very urgent in mentioning his pretensions; but he has been soothed by the promise of better preferment. It is believed that M. Teste will be made President of the Cour de Cassation in the room of M. Bastard, who is dying, and Salvandy will then be Ministre des Travaux Publics, in his room.

Bresson is the man who was secretly employed by Louis Philippe at Brussels, on the formation of the kingdom of Belgium, to intrigue for that crown for the Duc de Nemours. When the plot was discovered, and discountenanced by the Powers, Louis Philippe disavowed any participation in it himself, and laid all the responsibility on his servant, who pleaded guilty to the charge, and exonerated his master. He has since been sent Minister to Berlin.

A calm has succeeded to the late excitement about Spain. I hear that Christina has delayed her departure for two months, when the Cortes will be convoked, and the majority of the Queen confirmed, in order that she may avoid all sus-

picion of wishing to appear in her former character of Regent. Louis Philippe will also have this interval to reflect on all the risks and consequences that may attend his monomania of a marriage for his son.

Heron Court, September 17th, 1843.

My Lord Duke,

I was very glad to see that Her Majesty's visit to Eu was not extended to Paris, as had been reported. Without wishing to throw any imputation on the French nation, I could not help feeling that the mischievous portion of their Radical press might have excited some symptoms of ill-will in the crowd, which (if only confined to a few solitary hisses) would still have been better avoided.

I hear from Paris that His Majesty Louis Philippe has been almost bewildered with joy by this public admission of his hitherto dubious pretensions to enter the circle of legitimate sovereigns of Europe. It shows the address with which he has already begun (as I predicted) to turn the intimacy of the Belgian Queen with our Sovereign to his own purposes; and I see that a whole gallery of pictures has been commanded to commemorate this visit, and

render posterity incredulous as to his previous mortifications on that score.

Du reste, in a national point of view, I do not see any great or real advantage we are likely to gain with our neighbours from Her Majesty's frolic. It remains to be seen how Russia and the other European Powers will contemplate this sudden *épanouissement* of friendship between the two Courts.

I remain, &c.

T. R.

Walmer Castle, September 19th, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,

I shall be delighted to receive you here on Saturday 23rd. I am apprehensive that the Queen's visit to Eu will not please anybody, excepting those to whom it was paid, and their friends and adherents.

Ever yours, &c.

WELLINGTON.

Rue Royale, October 19th, 1843.

MY LORD DUKE,

I find everything here in a dead calm. The news from Spain seems very discouraging, though it is pretended that matters are beginning to

gain some consistency at Madrid. Olozaga is still here, but departs to-morrow for Spain to meet the assembling Cortes, and M. Bresson will certainly be appointed French Ambassador to the new Government.

I have already had the opportunity to remark that the late energetic measures in Ireland have had a very satisfactory effect with the European Powers. They have impressed them with a conviction of the vigour and stability of the English Government, which the past inaction had rather called in question; and I trust it may produce very salutary consequences for the future, by strengthening the confidence of those who wish to uphold the peace and tranquillity of the world.

In default of political news, I may mention to your Grace the death of one who has occasionally been brought on the *tapis* in our late conversations at Walmer.

Montrond died yesterday morning. I had left him two months ago very ill of a paralytic seizure, and on my return here I heard that he was in a hopeless state, and fast sinking into the grave.

Having so long known his antecedents, I was naturally very curious to learn the tone of his feelings and the state of his mind at such a crisis, more particularly as I had also heard

that his head was as clear and as collected as ever. Three or four days back, when it was said to him, "Prenez bon courage, vous irez peut-être mieux; assez bien même pour sortir en voiture." He replied, "Oui, je sais bien la voiture dans laquelle je sortirai." Since this, I find, to my great surprise, that the Duc de Broglie took upon himself to *opérer son salut*, and was unceasing in his efforts to bring him to a sense of religion; as also Madame Hamelia, who is become a very strict *dévote*. The same effort was made some years ago by that excellent woman the late Duchesse de Broglie, when Montrond was also in a state of extreme danger. She came and prayed by his bedside, but at that time without making the slightest effect on his mind, for he was then convinced he should recover, and by dint of his own energy. I remember very well he afterwards said to me, "J'aurais très bien pu mourir, si je l'avois voulu." Now it is said that he has shown great signs of religion and contrition. "Il a été administré, et il s'est confessé trois fois."

The Abbé Petitpas was constantly with him, and during his first *entretien* said to him, "Vous avez sans doute dans votre tems dit beaucoup de plaisanteries contre la religion." His reply was, "Non, jamais; j'ai toujours vécu en bonne compagnie;" an expression which, though by no

means true, showed his good worldly taste. This change (for I will not call it conversion) is, however, very remarkable, particularly as we all remember that he did everything in his power to dissuade M. de Talleyrand from signing his *rétractation* on his death-bed, and then turned it into ridicule. *Enfin*, he died yesterday in what the Catholics call *odeur de sainteté;* he desired the crucifix to be placed at his bed's head, and would not allow it to be removed. Peace to his manes! As from his connection with M. de Talleyrand your Grace must have so frequently met him, I have thought that these details of his last moments might not be without interest. I am happy to say that I have found Lord and Lady Cowley in good health.

I remain ever, &c.

T. RAIKES.

Walmer Castle, October 23rd, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,

We had some very fine but occasionally very severe weather since you left us; and I was very sorry that the day on which I understood that you were to cross the sea did not look promising.

Alvanley has been here, and Lady Poulett and

Miss Dormer have been here ever since you went.

I am sorry for poor Montrond, but pleased that he died a Christian. I don't believe that these sudden death-bed conversions are of good example; but it is better that such should take place for such a man as he was rather than not at all. They produce some effect on those who imitate them, and the few who admire them. I don't think that his last moments were calculated to conciliate the generality of the society at Paris or in France, who rarely think seriously upon any subject.

The successful issue of our measures in Ireland is calculated to increase the reputation of the Queen's servants, and to inspire respect for the powers and resources of this State, and the cautious wisdom of its Government.

I beg you to present my best compliments to Miss Raikes,

And believe me, &c.

WELLINGTON.

P.S. I hear nothing authentic of Spain. In truth, the powers and means of government in that country are destroyed. A Popular Assembly is no substitute for these in any country. God knows how the country is to be governed.

Walmer Castle, November 2nd, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your letter of the 28th has interested me greatly.

I can understand the great anxiety felt everywhere on the subject of this sudden revolution in Greece. There can be no doubt that it was the result of a very private conspiracy.

There are conspirators elsewhere as well as in Greece. There are many questions arising out of this great revolution, the settlement of which is necessary, but will be very embarrassing.

It is stated in our newspapers of yesterday that the Duc de Bordeaux is not going to Ireland. I hope that the foolish people about him will not prevail upon him to take that step. It is said that he will be in London on the 15th.

Ever yours, &c.

WELLINGTON.

Walmer Castle, November 10th, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your letters are most valuable to me. We are in a curious way upon many subjects, but I don't despair that, by putting our own affairs to rights, we may yet be able to preserve order in the world.

I hope that the affairs in Greece may yet terminate better than is imagined.

The Duc de Bordeaux is still at Alton Towers; he has been well received here wherever he has appeared.

Ever yours, &c.

WELLINGTON.

London, November 18th, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am very much obliged to you for the communication of the circumstances which you mention. I had not heard of them, and they account for many events and circumstances of which I could not discover the cause. However, we must make the most of men as we find them, and of the circumstances of the times in which we live; and do our best, each in his position, to protect our country and the world from the evils by which we are threatened.

There was a full conference of the Ministers of the Powers of peace on the day before yesterday. I hope that that difficulty may be overcome.

Believe me,

&c. &c. &c.

WELLINGTON.

P.S.—Present my best respects to Miss Raikes.

Strathfieldsaye, December 10th, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,

I returned here the night before last from my tour in the north of England, and I avail myself of the earliest moment of tranquillity to acknowledge the receipt of, and thank you for, your letter of the 30th.

We have had accounts of a curious scene in Spain since I received your letter of the 30th. Alas! that devoted country which gave me so much trouble during some of the best years of my life! I am afraid that it is lost. I hear nothing of the Duc de Bordeaux.

Believe me, &c.

WELLINGTON.

London, January 12th, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,

The contents of your letter of the 7th were in exact conformity with what you had before written to me.

We here, as individuals, are making every sacrifice in order to avoid the imputation of being promoters of the design to disturb the Government of King Louis Philippe or having even the appearance of entertaining such wish. God send that his Majesty himself may not, by the course which he is about to follow, promote the

object, the promotion of which we here are making every personal sacrifice of feeling to avoid!

Believe me, &c.

WELLINGTON.

London, January 22nd, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,

I don't think that the discussions in the Chambers on the Duc de Bordeaux have been very satisfactory to any party. There never was such folly as the Legitimist party were guilty of, in sending individuals to London to act the farce exhibited in Belgrave Square!

The consequence was, that every man of sense, who did not wish to be considered at the tail of a French party in England, every one who respected the pacific and neutral character of the Government of this country, was under the necessity of keeping himself at a distance, and of omitting to pay the Duc de Bordeaux those marks of respect, which every respectable, well-thinking individual would have been happy to pay him. But, this being the truth, no man in the French Chambers ventured to speak it.

Ever yours, &c.

WELLINGTON.

London, February 8th, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,

I received two days ago your letter of the 28th ult.

The mutual compliments of the two sovereigns and governments are very striking and satisfactory; but it is quite wonderful in what a small degree the public opinion in either country (but most particularly in France) is in accordance with the expressed sentiments of the Sovereign.

However, God send, for the sake of the world at large, that these two nations may remain at peace; the best chance for which must be, that should France be happy and tranquil.

9th.

It will be extraordinary if the governments of these two countries can continue long in harmony; the Ministers in each of them being daily cited, examined, cross-examined, in a criminating tone by the most acute individuals in two Chambers of Parliament in each country, upon every word that is said in either country, by one Minister or other. Yet this is the favourite modern constitution of government for mankind.

Ever yours, &c.

WELLINGTON.

London, February 13th, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have received, but not yet thanked you for, your last letter; but I have so much to attend to, that such neglect, however unpardonable, is not astonishing. I was very much obliged to you for it. God send that the good understanding between the countries may continue! But, considering the endeavours made by the Ministers, on both sides of the water, to interrupt it, its continuance can scarcely be expected.

Ever yours, &c.

WELLINGTON.

P.S. I am one of those who do not much admire the Slave-trade system. I anxiously trust that we may extricate ourselves from the difficulties in which we dwell, with regard to France.

London, March 5th, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,

This little obscure island* in the Pacific is becoming remarkable in the world. The whole transaction is curious. It is to be hoped that the good sense of both governments will prevail,

* Tahiti.

and that this transaction will have no injurious effects. Our Ministers have behaved with great prudence, have not been in a hurry to notice what occurred, and by this course have facilitated the position of their contemporaries in France, and have acquired for themselves a desirable termination of the affair.

9th.

I have long been sensible of the danger of accidents. Great vigilance is required in order to prevent them; and I trust that that is attended to.

You have named the principal cause of the evil.

Believe me, &c.

WELLINGTON.

London, April 18th, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your views are always correct and highly welcome to me.

The world is certainly in an extraordinary position—its peace depending upon the life of one man!

Ever yours, &c.

WELLINGTON.

London, May 11th, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,

Some days have elapsed since I received, and ought to have acknowledged, the receipt of your note of the 29th April, but I have really been much occupied.

I was delighted to find that Marshal the Duc de Dalmatie was active and energetic as usual.

After all, the public in France, as well as in England, have a good deal of that delicate taste called *tacte*, and are sensible of any man, whatever his talents and celebrity, placing himself in a false position.

Believe me, ever yours, &c.

WELLINGTON.

Strathfieldsaye, May 27th, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,

I received in London on Saturday your note of the 23rd.

You have quoted my words correctly. The tranquillity of France is essential to the rest of Europe. Such a country will not be tranquil unless enjoying a state of prosperity. Such a state does not depend exactly upon others; and if it did, and its existence and permanence were

to depend upon sacrifices on the part of any country, such could scarcely be expected from any. Yet this is what is expected.

We are living in wonderful times! The spirit of democracy has taken a start, and made a progress everywhere which astounds us; as if the last occasion of what we witness were a first instance, notwithstanding that they are of daily occurrence everywhere.

I attribute to this spirit and its influence the publication which has appeared in Paris lately, and is the subject of the thoughts of all, and of conversation everywhere.

What but the inordinate desire of popularity (such a desire as to render the enjoyment a positive want,) could have induced a man in his station, a prince of the blood royal, the son of the King, of high rank and pretensions in that profession of the service, to write and publish such a production—an invitation and provocation to war, to be carried on in a manner such as has been disclaimed by the civilised portions of mankind!

But even a prince of the blood royal cannot afford in these times not to enjoy popularity; and that can be enjoyed in France only by those who profess to detest and despise, and at the same time to desire the destruction of the power

and influence, and even of the independent existence, of this country.

Such objects may indeed exist in men's minds, and may be anxiously fostered and coveted; but, whatever the desire of attaining influence, the virulent expression of that desire will not attain the object. We must continue, therefore, in tranquil and silent contempt, to defend our rights, and when the day comes we shall, as usual, save our country.

Believe me, &c.

WELLINGTON.

30th.

We have been very quiet here. Nobody has as yet noticed the pamphlet* in this country.

Walmer Castle, June 6th, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am much obliged to you for your letter of the 3rd, which I received here yesterday evening. The Emperor of Russia arrived in London on Saturday night, and has been here since Monday. He goes away to-morrow, and quits England on Sunday night.

His Imperial Majesty is quite satisfied with

* Written by the Prince de Joinville.

his reception, and all that he has seen; and people are pleased with him. It is impossible to go on better than he does.

I don't think that much attention has been given to the Prince de Joinville's pamphlet. It is considered with ridicule rather than with irritation.

A paper entitled "Punch" has published a capital article upon it in the way of ridicule, which was published in the "Observer" of last Sunday the 2nd. I will send it to you if I can get it. It appears to me that that article expresses the general feeling.

Lord John Russell made an observation on the pamphlet, in the way of reprehension, in a debate on Monday. But he said very little, and nobody observed upon it on the part of the Government.

I shall return to London to-morrow. I am much flattered by your mention of my son Charles's marriage.

Ever yours, &c.

WELLINGTON.

London, June 17th, 1844.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

Here is the devil to pay. Peel has not resigned; but he is so disgusted at the conduct of his fol-

lowers, at their temporary coalition with the Whigs on this question, and at their insulting and injurious tone towards him personally, so often evinced before, that he is very unwilling to go on. However, he is going down to the House to-night, and is to explain the reasons why the Government cannot abandon their measure, and, if the adverse vote of Friday is persisted in, they will all resign to-morrow morning. I really think it is quite a toss-up how the matter will end. It is very difficult for the House of Commons to retrace its steps on this vote, as it did on the Factory Bill. On the other hand, the idea of Peel's really resigning, in the present state of affairs and parties, seems quite preposterous. But he is so intensely disgusted with the manner displayed towards him personally, and the language which his *soi-disant* supporters hold, and he thinks he has so little real dependable influence over them, that he wants to throw the whole thing up.

You may imagine what a state the House has been in, of wonder, excitement, and fear, for the last forty-eight hours—the Whigs just as much or more afraid of Peel's resigning than the Tories themselves—the Queen, more than any, dreading having to send for "the friends of her youth" again. A pretty mess! End as it may, it will be very embarrassing to the Government, and the good feeling between Peel and the people will

not be increased. I thought I would write you a word, to tell you how matters stand.

19th.

I will add a line to my short letter yesterday. Peel's speech produced great indignation and disgust, and everybody (Ministers themselves especially) was convinced that they would be in a minority; and, of course, if they had been, they would have resigned this evening. But for the eleven Leaguers who voted with them, this would have happened. The majority, as it was, was made up of people who would not vote at all before, and by some who did vote staying away. Nothing can exceed the bad feeling that prevails —the exasperation against Peel for the course he adopted, for the tone he assumed, and the pretensions he put forth. On the other hand, he is equally indignant at the treatment he has experienced from his party—the lukewarmness of some, the hostility of others, and the personal animosity of which he is conscious himself to be the object; and Graham the same.

Then, men of all parties think that he placed matters in such a state that one of two ruinous evils was unavoidable—either his throwing up the Government under circumstances which made any other next to impossible, or dragging the House of Commons through the mire, and making

it disgrace itself a second time. All this has produced such a state of bad feeling and mutual exasperation, that this apparently strong Government is now so confessedly weak that nobody believes it can possibly remain so long. It seems as if no real reconciliation could take place, or as if the Government could never recover the position they have lost. The truth is, Peel has not the qualities requisite for leading a party, though he has all the talents that are necessary; he is too good for his party. I suppose matters will now go on quietly for the rest of the Session—all parties will dread another crisis; but the task of governing with such a party must weigh heavy on those who have it to discharge, and I see no prospect of matters growing any better. If you read Sandon's speech, you will see what are the sentiments even of the moderate Tories.

Yours ever,

C. C. G.

Paris, Aug. 6, 1844.

My dear Mr. Raikes,

I am very much obliged to you for your kind and interesting letter, and also for your having thought of us so soon after your arrival in London. I was, besides, very glad to have a confirmation from you of the good accounts I receive from all

quarters of the Duke's health and looks. The Chambers were prorogued yesterday, very much, I believe, to the satisfaction of Guizot and the other ministers. Guizot, however, did not escape an attack in each Chamber upon the new subject of difference which has arisen between the two countries, in consequence of the treatment of Pritchard at Tahiti. Nothing ever equalled the violence and absurdity of the speakers of both Chambers, and also of the journals, upon this affair. Guizot has conducted himself with great firmness and presence of mind, particularly refusing to give any answer to the questions which were put to him, certainly with no other object than that of embarrassing the Government, and rendering it more difficult to come to an understanding with our Government upon the affair. The journals, the "Presse" in particular, breathe nothing but war, and the "Constitutionnel" says that *we* are anxious to break with France, in order to unite ourselves to Russia; and that this was begun by the Emperor, and is to be completed by Nesselrode!!

I cannot help thinking (between ourselves) that our ministers would have done better if they had declined giving any answer to the questions that were put to them. These interpellations are never made, either here or in England, for

any other purpose than to embarrass the Government; and, when Palmerston was in office, he seldom condescended to answer any question which was put to him upon transactions connected with his department.

As to *nouvelles de société*, I have not much to say. Princess Lieven is gone to Baden to meet her brother. The Paix's are not in Paris, which is become a desert. The *accouchement* of the Princesse de Joinville is hourly expected; it will be a race between her and our Queen Victoria. I have only to add, that Lady Cowley and Georgey join me, &c., &c.

Believe me, very sincerely yours,

COWLEY.

The illuminations on the 29th* were magnificent; but many lives were lost from the pressure of the crowd; many more than the Government are willing to admit.

London, August 13th, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,

It is very true that our relations with the French Government are very precarious; but I

* The anniversary of the days of July.

doubt our being able to place them in a better position. France is, as well as ourselves, a maritime power. We have hundreds of interests identical with hers, but with which the other continental Powers have no more relation than if they existed in the moon; these interests bringing us in constant relation with the French Government *de facto*, with which we must be on terms, either of some relation of amity as with the Government of the legitimate Bourbons or with that of Louis Philippe, or at open war as we were with that of Napoleon and the Republic. In former times there was a Dutch marine and a Spanish marine; there is now none but our own, and that of France, and that of the United States, both equally hostile to us. Yet the maritime interests of this country and the world —and maritime questions are increased tenfold in number and importance by our absurd declaration of the independence of the colonies of Spain. I write this just to point out to you the reason for which it is that our position in relation to France is very different from that of the continental Powers; and that if we are to have peace at all, which I believe nobody will deny, we must carry France with us in some degree, and that in a greater degree than is necessary for other Powers. I do not pretend to assert that we have invariably pursued the right

course. Far from it! But this I do say, we cannot follow the course pursued by the great continental Powers.

Believe me, ever, &c.

WELLINGTON.

London, Monday, September 5th, 1844.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

You were determined to justify my opinion of your writing, for you have written me a capital letter. I am not disposed to grumble much with what you say of Louis Philippe, of whom I am by no means the devoted admirer that you suppose; but what I do think is, that you do not make sufficient allowances for his position, and for the difficulty of governing such a people as the French. You must work with such tools as are suitable to the materials you have to work upon.

You will see in the evening newspapers the opinions of the judges in O'Connell's case. The most essential question was, whether the judgment ought to stand; and at this, all replied in the affirmative but two, Parke and Coltman, who think it ought not. It remains to be seen whether the Law Lords (Brougham, Cottenham, Campbell, Denman, and the Chancellor) will go with the minority or the majority. Very likely, I think, a majority of them will be with the two

judges against the rest. At all events, Government will probably let him out, for they would never keep him in prison when two of the judges were of opinion that the judgment was wrong, and probably, at least, two of the Law Lords also. This, however, remains to be seen: it certainly gives them a good opportunity of letting him out.

It is curious that Lord Malmesbury talks of the French, their *animus*, &c. in 1778, exactly in the same terms that we might and do use now; they are just the same.

In case you do not take in an evening paper, I add a line to say that the judgment on O'Connell has been reversed by the House of Lords. Three Law Lords against two—Cottenham, Campbell, and Denman, against Brougham and the Chancellor. It was with some difficulty the Lay Lords were restrained from voting. It will make a prodigious sensation, and Dan's deliverance will, of course, be hailed in Ireland as a great triumph. It is a mortification to the Government, but I doubt its doing any real harm.

Things are still in the same state with France. The article in the "Times" yesterday was quite unauthorized and untrue. I have not a guess how it will end; but I am all for our Government being firm. My belief is, that if they flinch, the people of this country will not stand

it; and all Europe is looking on to see whether we respect our dignity as we ought or not. I now think it will end in Guizot's resignation, and Thiers or Molé coming in, and doing what is necessary. I only hope we shall not take what all the world will say is an insufficient reparation; and if we do, I have no doubt many weeks will not elapse before we have some fresh impertinence to resent.

Ever yours,

C. C. G.

I open my letter to tell you everything is settled, and it will be announced in the Queen's speech to-morrow.

Bretby, Sunday, Sept. 1844.

My dear Raikes,

I came here yesterday, and mean to stay a couple of days. There is not a creature but the Ansons. The place is beautiful, and looks beautiful. The terms of accommodation are precisely what they were stated to be in the "Times'" correspondence from Paris.

I do not know if any mystery is to be made of it; but, as Peel refused to enter into particulars, it may be as well not to talk of them. We accept the expression of the King's regret, and

disapprobation of the conduct of his officers; and the French Government is to give Prichard a compensation for what he has suffered, to the amount of 20,000 francs. This is all! Nobody is recalled. It must be owned that it is slender; but, after all, it is an apology, and an admission that the French authorities were to blame, and the judgment of *amendement* to Prichard is an *act.* I am inclined to think that we were right not to haggle for more; it was the principle, more than the amount, that signified; and you are quite right to say we have done enough to show we will put up with no more. What has happened has determined our Government to put themselves in such a condition as to prevent any impertinence being attempted.

I have no doubt that you will soon see that in every quarter of the globe there will be an English power superior to any French. In this affair of Tahiti, too, all the right was on our side; and I suspect that Prichard's behaviour was as troublesome, provoking, and mischievous as possible. He never ought to have been made consul at all. Inefficiency ought not to be put in such a situation, though nobody ever contemplated that he would be involved in political matters.

Lord Cowley will be delighted at your settlement; for he was in great alarm at your idea of

coming away, and would, I fancy, have agreed to anything to avoid such a catastrophe.

Ever yours,

C. C. GREVILLE.

Cahir, September 7th, 1845.

MY LORD DUKE,

I have now been more than two months in this country. I have travelled as far as Westport on the Atlantic, and from thence down to Tipperary, where I am now at my friend Lord Glengall's. Alvanley and Nich. Pahlen, who are of our travelling party, are not less struck with the awful picture of society which we have witnessed than myself. Any man who has not visited Ireland can have but a faint idea of its present position. I have been loth to intrude my remarks on your Grace, because you must have already heard so much upon this subject; otherwise I have written to Charles Greville some undoubted facts that bear upon the question, who would readily send the letter for your perusal. Everything is subordinate to the power of the priesthood. They openly boast of that power, and they are the only real foe you have to deal with. O'Connell is their slave, and Repeal is nothing but a *feu follet* held out to dazzle the people with hopes of agrarian plunder,

while they are working for Catholic ascendancy and the extirpation of heretics.

Notwithstanding his boasted personal power and popularity, the priests are the secret rulers of O'Connell; and as long as he submits to their dictation, which, it must be admitted, they render both palateable to his vanity and profitable to his interests, he will continue to be the prominent influential character which we now witness. But let concession be heaped upon concession, he himself can never dare to be conciliated.

He is powerful for evil, but powerless for good. Let him once apostatize from the cause, let him incur the indignation of the conclave at Dublin, and he would be denounced by the priests from the altar, which, as we see in other victims, is nothing less than a sentence of death. He has himself confessed to his intimate friend Mr. George Bennet, the Q. C., that he should expect to be stoned. This country is more ripe for the Inquisition than any Catholic state in Europe.

9th.

The expected meeting of Papists at Killesandra on the 8th (yesterday), was meant to commemorate the battle of Ballinamuck, won by Humbert against the King's troops in 1798. It has excited considerable attention, and I see

that the Government has taken means to repress it.

I think the enclosed papers, which throw a great light upon the real objects of this meeting, and the conduct of Mrs. Southwell in exciting the populace to rise against Mr. Hamilton, who had purchased her husband's estate for £55,000, may be worthy of your Grace's perusal. We have just received them from the Castle, where they appear to have made a great sensation. They present a melancholy picture of the state of this country.

I remain, &c.

T. RAIKES.

London, September 12, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have received your letters of the 7th and 9th instant from Cahir, for which I am very much obliged to you.

I have always considered O'Connell as the personification of Catholic democracy, or rather the democracy in Ireland; for it is in reality that and nothing else.

I do not inquire whether he rules the lower class of the clergy (that is, the paid priests), or if they rule him, and wield the power of the body itself, the Irish democracy.

This is certain: O'Connell and the democracy are too strong for the Roman Catholic nobility, gentry, and hierarchy, even with or without the Pope.

I include in the Irish democracy all the class of men, of all religious persuasions, and of no religion at all, who chime in with O'Connell and the priests and the Roman Catholic democracy upon all occasions.

These are the members of the Liberal clubs throughout the country, some of the members of which are followers of the Whigs! Indeed, these Liberal clubs connect portions of the Whigs more or less with the Repeal movement.

This state of things renders it, in my opinion, very difficult, if not impossible, for the Whigs to form a Government in Ireland. The Orangemen will have nothing to say to them, and all classes of Protestants mistrust them.

The exercise of power in their hands depends chiefly upon the goodwill of O'Connell, and in wielding the power of the democracy, and in some degree upon the sense entertained by the Protestants of the necessity of their being upon terms with England, and with any party which exercises the powers of the Government of the Executive.

Otherwise the Protestants, almost to a man, are Tories in political opinions. I don't mean

to say that Sir Robert Peel and his Conservative Government have not their difficulties in Ireland as well as here, and that there are not some peculiar to the government of Ireland.

In these times, and since the Reform Act, a Tory Government is not to be expected. In truth, such a thing is out of the question. It is not alone by Schedule A that this change was effected; but it was by the great mass of democratical influence introduced into Parliament by the establishment of the metropolitan boroughs, by the extension of the constituencies to large manufacturing towns, and by the general democratical influence established throughout the country in elections for counties as well as in others.

These circumstances have altered the nature of the deliberations of the House of Commons. All the estates of the kingdom were heretofore there represented. It is now the representatives of the democracy contending with those of the possessors of property, whether in land or otherwise, but principally in land.

Then the increased influence of the democracy in Parliament has increased the democratical influence of the press; and that often acts upon the influence of property and of the Government.

Such is the operation of the machine, as now established, that no individual, be his character,

conduct in antecedent circumstances, and his abilities what they may, can have any personal influence in general. He may have upon certain knots of men upon certain isolated questions; but men in general cannot, nay, dare not, take a political course, in relation to the administration of the government by any individual, or party of men. Scarcely an individual is certain of his political existence. They are certainly very few who are!

And the Minister and the Government are under the necessity of taking their course, not according to their notions of what may be wise for the country; but of what they may be able to carry through both Houses of Parliament.

This state of things is aggravated in Ireland by the recollection of antecedent circumstances; by the folly of our Tories at the period of the Catholic Relief Act, which at the time prevented the clergymen, and indeed some of the more remarkable of the Protestant party, from adopting and acting upon that measure, as one of necessity under the circumstances, and as a settlement of the politic religious question between the two religious factions.

These same feelings are the cause of the sort of effervescence which has prevailed in respect to Maynooth and other questions.

Assemblies of clergymen have been declared

illegal. A law had been enacted to put them down, which law had expired. But the objections to the meetings still existed; and all good men endeavoured to prevail upon clergymen not to meet, excepting Mr. (Watson?) who called upon them to meet.

Could the Government, which in 1843 dismissed the magistrates who called together or presided over the meetings and petitions for repeal, do otherwise than dismiss Mr. Watson, who urged the clergymen to assemble, and are misleading the Orangemen respecting the conduct of Government in regard to the dismissal of Mr. Watson from the magistracy?

Voting for Repeal is not a crime, nor is agitation of petitioners for Repeal an offence. But the whole world applauded when Government struck out of the commission of the peace those who encouraged the assembling of meetings for petition for Repeal.

Because, as was alleged by me among others, Government could not rely upon the exertion and aid of men who should have convened such meetings, to put them down, in case the occasion should occur for so doing. Could the Government depend upon the aid and exertions of that gentleman to disperse a meeting, guilty of a breach of the peace, which he should himself have assembled?

These are the suggestions of fair and common sense upon this state of things.

But I hope that, by perseverance, good temper, and moderation, we shall get the better of our difficulties.

Ever yours, &c.

WELLINGTON.

P.S.—Since I have written this letter, I have perused yours to Mr. Greville.

Cahir, September 27th, 1845.

MY LORD DUKE,

Since my letter to your Grace of Wednesday last, the meeting at Thurles has taken place, as was expected, on Thursday, and a most formidable one it has been—those who were on the spot say it was the largest ever known in Ireland. I send you the account of the proceedings in the Tipperary papers. One of the most marked circumstances was the presence of 12,000 horsemen in military array, marching four abreast. This monster meeting has roused the people into a fresh ardour for Repeal, and in that respect the country is now in a more excited state than ever. I have marked the speech of Dr. Burke at Clonmel, as being worth attention. With regard to this neighbourhood, not above 150

went to the great rendezvous, but the gathering has quite unhinged the minds of the population. Nine-tenths of the mechanics have done no work during the last week, and they will probably be as unsettled during the next, though previously in a very orderly state, and apparently contented.

Thus it is, that with fresh fuel the flame rekindles, and the evil is perpetuated. This state of things cannot long be permitted to exist. It is hard that so mischievous an agitation should have arisen, as I have lately heard some Roman Catholic gentry here allow that everything that was possible had been done for Ireland, and that they no longer considered there was any just ground for complaint of bad government—though they not the less imputed the improvement to intimidation rather than to justice.

I remain, &c.

T. RAIKES.

(This letter is endorsed by the Duke of Wellington as having been copied to be sent by him to Sir James Graham.)

January 18th, 1846.

My dear Raikes,

I desire earnestly to see the Government in Ireland administered in the spirit most instrumental to the cure of the evils with which the country is afflicted, and most conducive to the improvement of the mass of the people, and the peace and prosperity of the country. But at this moment, I must acknowledge that there is something even more urgent and imperative than any such measures, however salutary they may be in their general tendency, and that is the assertion of the power of the law, and the repression of crime.

When you talk of Lord Heytesbury as "presiding over, but not governing, Ireland," I must say that I think you describe the case as it is. I cannot consider that to be a Government which is obliged to sit still and see the continual atrocities which are perpetrated in parts of Ireland; and, without having the least notion what measures, or if any, are in contemplation, I think that some most energetic ones ought at length to be tried to cure such an enormous evil. What they should be, I will never take upon myself to say; but if I was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, I would not consent to stay in Dublin, if the Government and Legislature would not afford me

such means as I might consider indispensable to protect the innocent, punish the guilty, and cause the laws to be respected and enforced. Those who have shown no indisposition to rule with lenity and impartiality, and to propose such measures as they thought would be beneficial and acceptable to the great mass of the people, are thrice armed in justice, and can, with confidence, be severe when severity is required.

I am told that measures of coercion and repression will be very difficult, and not effectual; it may be so, but I would see whether I could not make them effectual. You may give powers (it is said) to the executive; but you cannot counteract that system of terror and intimidation which prevents the administration of law itself, and which affords impunity to the commission of crime. If that be really so, it only proves, in my opinion, that the forms of the constitution are not adapted to the actual state of Irish society; and that the Irish people are not fit for the possession of rights involving corresponding duties which they are not able to discharge. The great, indeed the sole, objects of all constitutions are to give those who live under them protection and redress; but in Ireland, at present, protection seems to be reserved for the malefactors, and redress to be obtainable by nobody. The necessity, therefore, for an immediate correction of the evils which

are the effect of a vicious state of society supersedes, in my opinion, the necessity for such measures as are calculated to affect the causes of this same state, though the latter need by no means be lost sight of.

I beg to say that I do never mean to accuse the Government of supineness, or any backwardness in enforcing the law—still less to find fault with them for not having strained the law. I dare say they have done all they could do; but if their powers are insufficient, and the means at their disposal inadequate, they ought to insist on being armed with such powers and such means as they may require. I am well aware that you have been, all along, in your correspondence with me, descanting on this very subject, and will probably consider this expression of indignation very tardy in me; but I have never doubted or disputed the correctness of your assertions, and the dispute between us has been upon the causes of the evils themselves, and the general principles on which this Government ought to be conducted: topics on which we are probably still wide as the poles asunder. And in reference to the late crisis, you say you suspect that Irish disorders had much to do with it, in which conjecture you are also quite right, for I believe they were actually the main cause

of the whole affair: indeed, of this I have no doubt. We are in a strange state now, at all events.

Ever yours,

C. C. G.*

London, February 6th, 1846.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

I must tell you that I met Clare the night before last; and, after talking with him about Irish affairs, when he gave me an account of the state of the country much like yours, I asked him "whether the Government were in any way to blame, and whether they had left undone any thing they ought to have done to prevent or punish those excesses?" He answered, that "they were not to blame in any way, that they had done all they could,—all that the law enabled them to do,—but that the law was defective, and did not give them power enough." I am bound to add, that he said he thought the Government greatly to blame for not having brought forward their Irish bills before; that they ought to have done so the first night of the Session.

In Portugal, the obstinacy of the Queen is ruining the country, and will very likely cost her

her crown; she won't make peace, and she can't make war.

In Greece the atrocity of the Government, and the state of the country (much worse than under the Turks), have at last reached a climax, which, I believe, has determined our Government to interfere in the only way they can, which is by demanding payment of what they owe us, and sending three ships of war as our tipstaves; in short, the world seems out of joint, and everything is full of uncertainty and fear; nobody seems to know what his neighbour is about, nor what schemes are hatching. We of course think it necessary to put ourselves in a very imposing attitude, and to talk big; but we have no troops, and hardly any defences to defend ourselves, if we should by any chance be attacked; and the people of this country regard war as a thing impossible, and grudge every shilling that is spent in military preparations.

I am myself very reluctant to believe in any war breaking out, but I am persuaded that it is not wise or safe to suffer such a belief to deter you from being ready to encounter one, and that a good preparation is the best preservation of peace. The funds keep falling, and I was told the other day that trade is in a very bad state at Manchester. The fact does not as yet appear to

have produced any sensible effect, but no doubt it will do so.

I trust you fasted rigorously on the appointed day.

Ever yours,

C. C. GREVILLE.

London, August 7th, 1846.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

What do you think of the present state of things in Ireland, and the great split among the Repealers? It is a very good thing so far as it goes, and I am very glad that O'Connell has defeated Young Ireland. O'Connell is behaving exceedingly well just now. He went to Lord Bessborough before he left for Ireland, and told him that, after defeating the Coercion Bill, he felt bound to give the Government any assistance he could in repressing outrage and restoring peace, and that they might depend on his doing so; in fact, he actually means to support the Government as strongly as he can; and he carries the priests entirely with him, who appear to have all declaimed against the violent party.

I think all this will upset the Government, but I do not count upon it as sufficient to do essential and permanent good without much more.

Bessborough told O'Connell he was resolved to restore peace to the disturbed counties by deluging them with soldiers and police, and Dan replied he was right, and the more soldiers the better. Meanwhile the potato disease is worse than ever, not only in Ireland but in England, spreading in various directions, and assuming a very serious character. It is a vegetable epidemic, which will hold its course and have its way, and which no art seems sufficient to arrest.

The Government are very flourishing, and doing so well that many of their friends are urging them to dissolve now, but I do not believe they will; they will get through another session, and I think they will acquire strength by so doing.

I am remarkably well, though still very lame, but I can ride and walk a little.

Yours ever,

C. C. GREVILLE.

London, September 24th, 1846.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

I must confess that the Montpensier marriage affords you a capital opportunity. I will not discuss the events of Louis Philippe's reign, and the part he has acted since he came to the throne. It is no doubt true that he has been extremely

anxious to find eligible matches for his sons and his daughters, and I cannot quite perceive the guiltiness of so doing. However, I am not going to battle with you upon long past circumstances, but to say that I am ready to concur with you in thinking we have great reason to complain of his conduct in respect to those Spanish marriages. He has behaved not only with great want of courtesy and consideration towards us, but with extraordinary duplicity and bad faith. He had engaged to do nothing without our privity and concurrence, and he has secretly and silently arranged this matter by a course of underhand management and intrigue, abominable in itself, and scarcely less than insulting to this country! I own I think the manner of the affair the most objectionable part of it, for I am not so apprehensive of any political evils from the Montpensier match as friends of mine are; who, however, are far better able to judge of it than I am. I agree with you that French influence is so odious in Spain, that jealousy of France will be increased tenfold by the marriage of the Infanta, and I doubt whether any French prince would have it in his power to sacrifice Spanish to French interests. The great evil will be that there will be a perpetual series of intrigue, and an everlasting suspicion, both in Spain and throughout Europe; however, we can't prevent it, whatever

our opinions or wishes may be—it is certainly not a *casus belli*, and all we can do is to convey, in temperate language, our sentiments on the subject.

Matters, however, have proceeded too far in France and Spain now to be arrested. From the egregious obstinacy and folly of the three great courts, who have never chosen to acknowledge the Queen of Spain, they are precluded from any interference, and are unable to join with us in any remonstrance or representation on the subject. We are therefore left alone, and those silly potentates, who would gladly join us in putting a spoke in Louis Philippe's wheel, are quite powerless, and have to pay the penalty of their own stupid pride and arrogance.

I regret also that anything should have occurred to interrupt the cordiality of our relations with France, because I fear, when a feeling of *aigreur* and resentment (though without a quarrel or rupture) succeeds, we shall sooner or later rub against each other, and some circumstance or other will occur, that may breed mischief and danger.

I wish you had told me your anecdote, instead of tantalizing me with telling me you could have told me one. Tell me also something of Alvanley.

Yours ever,

C. C. GREVILLE.

October 5th, 1846.

My dear Raikes,

It is quite true there was a specific engagement on the part of Guizot to Lord Aberdeen, confirmed by the King himself, to our Queen, that there should be no question of his son's marrying the Infanta, as long as such an alliance could be regarded as of a political nature;—not, therefore, till the Queen of Spain was married, and the succession was secured by her having children. On this assurance Lord Palmerston relied; and there is no doubt that the present marriage is a complete breach of faith to us, and it has been arranged in a manner which is full of duplicity and intrigue. We have, therefore, a right to complain of the manner in which we have been treated; and we have also a right to remonstrate against the match on account of the political results which it may possibly engender. But if Louis Philippe thinks it worth his while to conclude this alliance, and does not mind offending us, we have certainly no alternative but to submit; for most assuredly this country will not go to war with France in any such cause; and if we are not prepared to *do* anything, the less we *say* the better. On the other hand, we cannot be altogether silent, or refrain from expressing our opinion of the transaction.

Accordingly, Lord Palmerston has made a remonstrance, and such a one as he ought to make; it is calm, temperate, and dignified. He knows well enough that Louis Philippe has gone too far now to recede, and, as we do not mean to quarrel with France, it is wiser to couch our remonstrance in terms which may leave our international relations ostensibly on the same footing as heretofore.

As to the other great Powers, as they have no diplomatic relations with Spain, and have never acknowledged the Queen of Spain, they cannot interfere. I believe it to be quite true, as you say, that they do not care about it (or rather view with satisfaction such a case of difference and estrangement between France and England), and are, no doubt, enchanted at our being thrown over by our dear friend and ally, and chuckle at the probable breach of that close friendship.

The accounts from Ireland are very bad, and Bessborough has got a difficult task in his hands. Now that the potatoes are all gone, I suppose you will allow that the announcement of the disease soon after its commencement and during its progress was no delusion. In December last Sir R. Peel announced the existence of a disease which threatened the potato crop in Ireland with total destruction; you and all the Protectionists did nothing but laugh, sneer, and deny; before

nine months had elapsed the destruction was consummated and was complete!

Government were in November last aroused by the alarming accounts of the disease in Ireland; and, in February of this year (1846), they announced to Parliament and to the country that this great evil and danger had manifested itself, and was spreading in such a manner as to threaten total destruction.

Ever yours, &c.

C. C. GREVILLE.

P.S. You will have heard of the death of poor Allen. Cecil Forester had just made an arrangement for him which would have enabled him to come back to England.

9th.

When the attempt was made at Madrid to inveigle us into joining the Coburg alliance Maria Christina was, or pretended to be, most anxious for it; and offered, if we would support her, to send at once for the Prince of Coburg and declare this marriage. We absolutely refused to have anything whatever to do with it, and advised that the Queen should marry a Spanish prince. Our Government believed that Maria Christina was sincere in this overture; but I

met at the Grove yesterday a very clever and well-informed Spaniard, who is just arrived from Madrid, and who, among many other things, said we might rely upon it that she never meant this Coburg match at all, and that the proposal was only meant as a snare to us; and if we had listened to it, France would have taken advantage of our doing so, and laid to our charge the intrigues of which we now accuse her. Both Clarendon and Lord Lansdowne were struck with this view of the matter, and disposed to believe it.

Newmarket, October 24th, 1846.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

I have received within these few days a strong corroboration of the truth of the statements you had from Paris. My correspondent writes to me: "The activity of Guizot here is prodigious; he has sent false versions of the affair to Vienna, Berlin, and Petersburg, and adapted them to the tastes of the different Courts. He represents himself as the impersonification of peace and strong government, and says the row has been got up by Palmerston, out of personal hostility to him."

I was in hopes that there was more of political principle, not to say common honesty and truth, in Guizot, and I am disappointed. I must admit

that the conduct of the King, on this occasion, goes far to justify the opinion you have always entertained of his character. I should not probably be disposed to go to the same *length* of censure of him that you do; but certainly he has shown that he is capable of extraordinary falsehood and duplicity, when it suited his purpose, and he had something to gain by it.

Yours ever,

C. C. GREVILLE.

London, November 20th, 1847.

MY DEAR RAIKES,

I want to see Alvanley very much; it is an age since we have met. The political tongue is very black just now, and I wish I could see any prospect of speedy improvement. On the contrary, we have a long winter before us, and great and increasing distress. There is a general *malaise* and vague apprehension; the want of money is universal. The shops complain that their custom has sunk to nothing; in all quarters people are dismissed from employment, servants turned out of their places, and labourers from their work. Great and loud are the disputes as to the cause of these effects.

I will not enter upon this very difficult and intricate question of money and finance, and

their bearing upon the present state of affairs. I profess myself incompetent to offer any opinion entitled to the slightest weight; such high authorities arrive at such opposite conclusions on these matters, that I will not presume to decide between them, though of course I have formed some opinion of my own. On one point I will venture an opinion, and that is, that very much of the present embarrassment is attributable to the fault committed by Sir R. Peel, three or four years ago, when he threw over Lord Dalhousie and the Railway Board, and prevented that salutary check being given to railway speculation, which I agree with you in thinking is the principal cause of the present embarrassment. That things will right themselves by and by, I have no doubt; because, *pejora passi*, we have always found a prosperous reaction follow periods of distress and difficulty; and what has invariably happened before, will, I am confident, happen again. But, before this good change occurs, I fear we shall have a smart period of suffering, and many lamentable cases to deplore. The storm will purify the atmosphere, but leave many wrecks behind.

Ireland is indeed a dreadful chapter; but I hope and believe that Clarendon will not shrink from demanding any extent of power to suppress the enormities that are exciting such natural

horror and indignation, nor from firmly exerting them when he gets them. I was afraid there would be an indisposition to ask for powers; but I am now reassured on that head. I believe the country and Parliament will be prepared to confide to the Lord Lieutenant any amount of power, and the only thing that will be required of him is, to ask enough, and not scruple to exercise what he gets. Government, however, want to do as little now as they can about anything, so as to be up by Christmas.

Ever yours,

C. C. GREVILLE.

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